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MEMOIRS

OF

EMANUEL AUGUSTUS DIEUDONNÉ

COUNT DE LAS CASAS,

&c. &c.

MEMOIRS

OF

EMANUEL AUGUSTUS DIEUDONNÉ

COUNT DE LAS CASAS,

COMMUNICATED BY HIMSELF.

COMPRISING

A LETTER

FROM COUNT DE LAS CASAS AT ST. HELEÑA

TO

LUCIEN BONAPARTE,

GIVING A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT

OF THE

VOYAGE OF NAPOLEON TO ST. HELENA,

HIS RESIDENCE,

MANNER OF LIVING, AND TREATMENT ON THAT ISLAND.

ALSO

A LETTER

ADDRESSED BY COUNT DE LAS CASAS

TO

LORD BATHURST.

20455 a

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN, CONDUIT STREET.

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PREFACE.

Of the men who accompanied the celebrated exile to St. Helena, to no one has the public attention been so much directed as to the Count de Las Casas. The circumstances under which he returned to Europe, and the harsh treatment which it was understood he had experienced from the agents of the British government, could not possibly pass unnoticed, in an age like that in which we live. Wherever M. de Las Casas set his foot he uttered his com-

plaints in loud and indignant language, and the belief became general throughout Europe, that humanity as well as justice were outraged in the severities to which he had been subjected.

When the conduct of our Government was brought into discussion in the House of Commons, shortly before the dissolution of the last Parliament, charges and insinuations against M. de Las Casas highly injurious to his character and reputation were brought forward by Ministers. The charge which of all others is perhaps most deeply felt by a man of honour was made against him by Mr. Goulburn, that of an intentional violation of truth.

M. de Las Casas was not present to answer the accusation; and no one but himself could answer it. It was not to be expected, however, that he would sit still under such a charge. Accordingly it was shortly afterwards intimated in the Continental papers that M. de Las Casas was busily employed in preparing for the press, a full and circumstantial vindication of his conduct and character. This vindication he has now completed, and arrangements have been made for its appearance in all the principal languages of Europe at the same time. We here lay it before the British public.

It consists, first, of an account of the life

of M. de Las Casas, drawn up in the third person, but compiled from his own materials; secondly, of a Letter written by M. de Las Casas to Lucien Bonaparte, giving an account of the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte and his manner of living at St. Helena, which letter was the cause of the removal of M. de Las Casas from that Island; thirdly, of a letter of complaint, written by M. de Las Casas to Lord Bathurst, immediately after his arrival at Frankfort.

Such are the materials which it has been thought proper on the part of M. de Las Casas to give to the world, that it may judge between him and the British ministry.

The matter will not rest here. Public opinion has always sufficient force in this country to make itself felt in the very highest quarters; and we have no doubt, Ministers will in the present case, pay so much deference to it, as to honour this work with an early notice. At all events this subject, as well as the whole management of St. Helena, will assuredly be brought before Parliament soon after its meeting.

Without anticipating the sentence of the public in the case of M. de Las Casas, we may be permitted to say that the account of his life will be read with no ordinary interest. It has every appearance of being a faithful portraiture. The Count is re-

presented as possessing that singleness of heart, that romantic enthusiasm, and that integrity of character, which we should expect to find in the man who sacrificed every worldly prospect, and subjected himself to all the rigours of a captivity on a desert island in the midst of a distant ocean, that he might afford assistance and consolation to a master whom fortune had to all appearance abandoned for ever. A considerable part of his life was passed in England, on the shores of which he was thrown in a state of destitution at the commencement of the French revolution. From a life of abundance and even of luxury he passed at once to the extremity of privation; but his talents and his virtues, after a severe strug-

gle, procured him the means of comfortable existence, and the esteem and friendship of many worthy individuals among us, who still entertain for him no ordinary regard. If a man like this who always enjoyed the esteem of all who knew him, and of whose generous and exalted statements the world has had such an unequivocal proof, could gratuitously lay himself open to the accusations brought against him by Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Goulburn, all we can say is, that he is a perfect anomaly in the history of our species. Without, however, meaning any thing offensive, either to Lord Castlereagh or Mr. Goulburn, we may safely say, it will require something more than their bare assertion to induce impartial men

to believe them in preference to M. de Las Casas; more especially when it is considered that another assertion of theirs, during the same discussion, was hardly credited, even by their most credulous adherents.

MEMOIRS

OF

EMANUEL AUGUSTUS DIEUDONNÉ,

COUNT DE LAS CASAS.

ABOUT the close of the eleventh century, when several French princes, animated by religious enthusiasm and a spirit of chivalry, crossed the Pyrenees to combat the Moors, one of the ancestors of Las Casas was standard-bearer to Count Henry of Burgundy. The glorious warlike achievements of this Henry, the founder of the kingdom of Portugal, are sufficiently known from history. In one of the

seventeen battles in which he triumphed over the infidels, the victory remained long undecided, till this standard-bearer finally secured it to the army of Henry by deeds of valour approaching to the miraculous; but of the colours which he carried in that battle a single stripe of silk was all that remained in his hand. Henry determined that this precious remnant should ever after constitute the colours in the armorial bearing of the hero, to whom he attributed the victory of that day, and at the same time, he granted to him, as his share of booty, *todas las Casas;* i. e. all the habitations of the Moors in the sight of the field of battle; hence the arms, the motto, and even the name of the family.

At a later period, this family fixed their residence in the vicinity of Seville, in the province of Andalusia, and in the year 1200, one of its members, Charles de Las Casas, was among the Spanish grandees who accompanied

Bianca of Castille, in her journey to France to espouse Louis VIII, the father of St. Louis. (See *Les Généalogies de St. Allais, Cherin—Dictionnaire de la Noblesse de France, &c.*)

The magnanimous Bishop of Chiapa Bartholomæus de Las Casas, the courageous defender of the Indians, the propagator of Christian morality among them, the missionary of European virtues in the New World, a true ornament of humanity, whose name we meet with in all histories, on the theatre, and in works of fiction, belonged also to this family.

Emanuel Augustus Dieudonné, the hero of this biography, forms the seventeenth *military* generation of his family; from the return of this family to France under the circumstances above alluded to, its career was necessarily military, and the most of its branches can number among their members some who in the field of honour were wounded or

slain in the most celebrated battles of the monarchy.

The young Count Las Casas, born in the castle of that name near Soreze in the province of Languedoc, received his first rudiments of education from the priests of the Oratory at Vendôme, from whence he entered the celebrated as well as privileged Military School at Paris; that school which has furnished so many distinguished heroes to the French revolution; from which have proceeded General Desaix, who fell in the victory of Marengo; Philippeaux, one of the heroes of St. Jean d'Acre; Clarke, Duke of Feltre, the Hedouvilles, the ambassador Larochefoucauld, General Nansouti, Marshal Davoust Prince of Eckmuhl, &c. and Napoleon.

The Count left the Military School at Paris at a very early age; he was at first destined for the cavalry, but his diminutive stature, and

his feebleness of body induced him to dedicate himself to the sea service. This service was at that time the mode as it were, and besides his family was connected with the Duke de Penthievre, Grand Admiral of France, whose favour could open to him all the advantages of that brilliant and then highly followed career.

Fourteen days had scarcely elapsed from his leaving the Military School, when our young seaman was already in the Channel, in the grand combined squadron under the command of Don Louis de Cordova, which was destined to follow the British fleet under the command of Admiral Howe. His first engagement was at the siege of Gibraltar, when both he and the boat which he commanded were nearly swallowed up by the waves, as he was employed in removing the Spanish crews from their burning vessels. A few weeks afterwards he participated in the naval engagement of the 20th October 1782 off Cadiz, in which above

a hundred ships of the line of the two belligerent nations stood opposed to each other. This was the last action of the war, but peace did not set limits to his activity: by nature ambitious, already he distinguished himself at school by his diligence and his exertions, and acquired repeated premiums; and he strove after whatever he could hope to be able to attain.

Advancement in the naval service depended at that period on the union of practical experience at sea, with a knowledge of the mathematical sciences; this induced Las Casas to make voyages to all the colonies of America, New England, Senegal, the Isle of France, and the East and West Indies; he then for the first time offered himself to the celebrated professor, afterwards senator Monge, for trial in the different branches of mathematics. The result of this trial was highly honorable to him; he was on the spot promoted to the rank of *Lieutenant de Vaisseau,*

by which he obtained the rank of a Major in the army. He was then hardly twenty-one years of age, and this rapid promotion, altogether unusual in the naval service was effected by no kind of favor, but solely the consequence of the natural course of things.

If the biographer does not scruple to notice even the more unimportant events in the life of his hero, he is the less at liberty to omit those in which it has pleased Providence, by leading him by the hand as it were, to snatch him from certain destruction. Las Casas twice survived conjunctures of this nature.

The great but alas unfortunate expedition of La Peyrouse is universally known. The ideas and the plan of this expedition were drawn up by Louis XVI. with his own hand, and it was then considered a great favor to be allowed to have any connection with it. The parents of the Count who held situations at

court, procured this favor for him, and transmitted the information to him at St. Domingo, where he then happened to be on board of a vessel. With the greatest haste he returned to Europe; but he arrived too late, for the expedition had already sailed. His grief was without bounds, but how little is man capable of judging whether he has cause to grieve! from that voyage not one man has ever returned, and up to the present moment, no one knows where and in what manner the two vessels were lost.

In the following year, after his return from this voyage, the Count wished by every means, and in the utmost haste to perform the remaining years of service required by law; he obtained an appointment in a brig. The state of his health, and at the same time relations of friendship, induced him to renounce this appointment, and to endeavour to obtain another in a larger vessel fitting out also for war. The

more difficulties were at first thrown in his way, the more firmly did he adhere to his purpose, and he even at length declared that rather than renounce it, he would leave the royal service; he at length succeeded, and this was fortunate for him, for as the brig *(le Matin)* set sail a few weeks afterwards in company with a frigate for Senegal, during the darkness of night it parted from the frigate, and was never seen afterwards.

Our young navigator now raised to the rank of *Lieutenant de Vaisseau,* had fortunately got over the thorns of his profession, and its flowers and attractions lay now before him. Hitherto he had passed his days either at school or on shipboard; the world was almost altogether unknown to him; he now entered life for the first time as it were, and under what happy auspices! In the spring of life, in a distinguished rank, presented at court, admitted to the honour, as it was called at

Versailles, of proceeding in the royal equipage, an exclusive privilege of the oldest families, at once the sure pledge of the royal favor, and a certain assurance of a brilliant alliance—what noble prospects, what an enviable destiny! A tranquil and happy life seemed to await him;—but how deceitful and vain are all human calculations of probability! This horoscope pointed to happiness and tranquillity, but storms and calamities soon assailed him;—a cloud soon made its appearance unexpectedly in the horizon, and a hurricane suddenly struck the top, the main stem, and the branches of the noblesse. The French revolution broke out.

The disease of the social relations in France consisted then principally in this, that there was no longer a country but merely classes and conditions; there was no idea of public rights and public prosperity; prejudices and privileges alone prevailed, and the revolution was not

an insurrection of subjects against their princes, nothing like a real insurrection of the people, but much rather an insurrection of vassals against their superiors and their supreme head; a rising of equality against privileges; a resistance similar to that which the Gauls formerly made to the Franks.

The emigration followed; Count Las Casas, by nature warm, enthusiastic, and in the age of ardent passion, was among the first who rushed to the path which was called the path of honour by those with whom he was connected. He was seen on the first assemblage of the emigrants with the Prince of Condé at Worms; shortly afterwards the Count Artois arrived at Mentz; the King was seized on his flight to Varennes, and Monsieur now Louis XVIII. entered Cobletz.

A correct idea can with difficulty be now formed of the credulity, the infatuation and

the thoughtlessness of the young French emigrants; they uniformly considered their numbers more than necessary to reduce a refractory populace to order, as they called it, and every new comer was looked upon by them with an eye of ill-will and even of jealousy; however their days were passed in fêtes and enjoyments, but at the same time amidst loud complaints against those who endeavoured to restrain that impatience which hollowed the abyss that was so soon to close over them.

Coblentz was then the seat of a highly brilliant assemblage; here stood the first and second *arrière-ban* of France; here was the point of union of all the elegance and attraction of Paris. This was the period in the life of Las Casas in which he had most opportunities of seeing the fashionable world and in which he most enjoyed the pleasures of society; he had open access to the circles of the Countess Balby, and his name stood

even on the select list of the Countess Palastron. In these societies were to be found all who could lay claim to good taste, favour and elegance. The memoirs of the times will certainly one day make mention of these two ladies, of whom the one was witty, amiable animated, and fond of splendour; while the other again was soft, modest, reserved, and silent; but the French princes were held in subjection by both of them.

Not far from Coblentz, Aix-la-Chapelle offered a point of assemblage for all Europe; a number of princes and individuals of distinction were to be found there. Las Casas paid frequent visits to it; and dedicated his care to the unfortunate Princess Lamballe whose house was a branch of his family. When this noble victim of heroic devotion and friendship left Aix-la-Chapelle to return to the Queen, and remained deaf to all warnings and predictions of her fate, Las Casas ac-

companied her to the frontier; he wished to accompany her in disguise to Paris, and it was the express command of the princess which alone prevented him from carrying this design into execution. Among his acquaintances of distinction in Aix-la-Chapelle, we ought to mention the Count de Haga (Gustavus III. of Sweden) who honoured him with his particular attention, conferred on him an appointment in his marine, and wished to take him along with him in his own carriage. A delay of the hour fixed on for departure, deprived him of this favour, and the Swedish king soon afterwards fell by the hand of an assassin. Had Las Casas followed him, who knows what direction his life might then have taken?

At length the memorable campaign of 1792 opened; the crusade of the Duke of Brunswick is sufficiently known. The emigrants put themselves in motion; the whole of this young

noblesse served as common soldiers; with muskets on their shoulders and at their own expense. Their spirit was good, and their endeavour noble, but they formed a disorderly multitude, and presented a truly comic spectacle; they appeared before Thionville, which they thought they could take without once investing it; they negociated a long time with the Austrians for the purpose of obtaining two pieces of artillery from Luxemburg that they might employ them against the above fortress. Las Casas marched in the ranks of the marine corps, which, singularly enough, met the national guard of Brest on the walls; the latter saluted their old acquaintances with vollies of abuse in the true seaport stile. The greatest injury however which they did to each other consisted in this mutual abuse. At that time so little experience was possessed in the art of war, that a single battalion of the imperial guard of our latest epoch, would have thrown the whole of this numerous emi-

grant army into disorder, although it was commanded by marshals who had formerly gained battles; but fortunately the other side was not much more skilled in the art of war.

Every one knows the unsuccessful result of the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick, his rapid and unfortunate retreat; this campaign was the complete grave of the last remains of the French feudal system. The emigrants might on this occasion have learned from this dreadful experience, what infinite calamities are produced in civil dissensions when recourse is had to foreigners, and any reliance is placed on their favour; hitherto they had been kept continual prisoners amidst the columns of the Prussians; but scarcely had the retreat commenced, when they saw themselves ill treated, abused, nay even plundered; they were compelled to throw away their arms, and destitute of every necessary to wander up and down, driven even from towns and countries, by the Princes

of which they had only a few days before been honoured, encouraged to fight, and even treated as victors.

Las Casas, abandoning himself to his stars, wandered on foot through the country of Luxemburg, Liege, Aix-la-Chapelle, Maestricht, and at last reached Rotterdam. A great multitude of emigrants had flocked to Holland, many of them embarked for foreign countries, and not a few were even forcibly conducted to Batavia.

Las Casas, and with him a great part of his companions in misfortune, threw themselves into an English coal ship; here they were treated exactly like a cargo of negroes, and landed on the banks of the Thames, at a considerable distance from London, which they had to reach on foot as well as they could. A new world, a new existence here offered itself to the Count in all its horrors—the condition of

misfortune struggling with want. There was now no longer any question about coats of arms, family rank and high descent; all these advantages had disappeared in a moment; bent down, thrown amongst the great mass of the people, they had now either to share with the latter their toil and their exertions, or to perish. Cast out on a foreign soil, among a people whose language was unknown to him, without acquaintances, destitute of all support, without money; cut off from all connections with friends, if he did not wish to render them miserable; this was then the dreadful situation of the Count, and yet it did not deject him; under a weak bodily frame he possessed a vigorous soul.

"Am I entitled to consider myself unfortunate," said he to himself, "when I cast a look on the helpless old men and the females among the emigrants, hitherto nursed in the lap of abundance and pleasure, and now thrown on

the streets a prey to the most bitter misery, without assistance, without industry, nay, even without strength to apply it?" "And even, continued he, "when I consider the class to which I belong at present, when I see them continually labouring in the sweat of their brows, to gain their living from day to day, in constant danger of pining the next day of hunger; when I compare myself with them, can I call myself unhappy? An accident has plunged me into this situation, to-morrow I shall perhaps be rescued from it; but for these unfortunate beings, this is their natural condition, bitter poverty receives them at their birth and accompanies them to the grave; what a melancholy present then is life! how much have they cause to complain, and on the other hand how much cause have I to bless my destiny!"

Considerations of this nature were the true talisman of his strength and his courage, and even in the most alarming moments they were

able to banish every approach of dejection and melancholy from his heart.

The Count was now restless in his endeavours to develop all his physical and moral powers. A part of his leisure he dedicated to the acquisition of the language of the country, and during his remaining time, under an assumed name, he communicated to the first who came in his way, instruction in all that was asked of him. He was then usually under the necessity of learning himself the day before, what he was to teach on the following day, and he used afterwards jocularly to call himself the teacher who instructed himself at the cost of his pupils.

The first period of this new career was highly bitter and trying, and its duration long; it would be difficult to give a true picture of it. With astonishment and melancholy emotion however, would every one be filled by it, were

they to read, to what a degree, a tender feeling, and a proud spirit could limit its corporeal wants and endure privations; and on the other hand they would find matter enough for mirth in remarkable anecdotes, ludicrous *qui-pro-quos*, and singular contrasts occasioned by his disguise and his double situation, of a polished man of the world, and of a man from among the dregs of the people, who in an interval of a few hours, at one time appears in gilded saloons, and at another in cellars of the utmost wretchedness, not unfrequently consumes his mid-day meal by the side of a day labourer in the lowest public house, and in the evening participates in a splendid banquet among the great. These were often truly theatrical and romantic scenes; and indeed the imagination and even character of the Count were not without a strong dash of the romantic.

As however courage, a refined education, amiable manners, and distinguished talents never

fail in a short time to raise the person adorned by them above the multitude, Las Casas soon contrived to gain friends, and by their assistance to improve his external situation; and frequently even highly brilliant and unexpected prospects opened to him. For instance, he was one day offered a commission to take the management of immense estates in Jamaica, where by means of a respectable employment, he could in four or five years have acquired enough to place himself above care for the rest of his life; endeavours were also made to procure him advantageous places in India, which would in a short time have raised him to a situation of independency; but he constantly rejected all propositions of this nature, for they always appeared to him in the light only of banishment. Riches to be acquired in a distant land were not so dear to his heart as being near to his country; he gave to poverty by the side of hope, the preference over all those valuable treasures.

Las Casas was twice suddenly torn from his usual avocations by occasions of importance, for he was not yet cured of his political errors; these were the fruitless attempt on la Vendée, and the dreadful butchery at Quiberon, from which he only escaped by a miracle. After this he believed that he had discharged his debt to the common cause, he looked on it now as altogether lost, and he wished from henceforward, to devote himself solely to his private affairs. At this time he conceived the happy idea of executing the *Historical Atlas*, and although he then gave only a sketch to the press, this undertaking was nevertheless extremely successful; it procured him a small property, a circle of worthy friends and intimate acquaintances, who might have supplied the want of family ties and enabled him to enjoy life, if he could possibly have been completely happy at a distance from his country, and separated from his relations.

From eight to ten years were in this manner passed by the Count in a foreign country; when in the bosom of France a meteor arose, that covered it with his fame and his genius. His powerful arm at once changed the former order of things, the French revolution ceased to be the terror of civilized Europe, its beautiful and grand truths came forth resplendent and purified from the chaos of anarchy, it forced respect from kings, and corresponded to the wishes of the people. A life and an organization wholly new, spread themselves over the soil of France. The emigrants were solemnly recalled. "There are now no parties, and no "privileged orders, but Frenchmen only;" was the language of the new government. Las Casas availing himself of this arrangement, terminated his exile and hurried to Paris; the emigration had cost him his estate; he now renounced on oath all farther claims to it, for this was the condition of his return; but he

saw himself again on his native soil, and breathed again his country's air; and to noble minds this will always appear a most distinguished treasure.

After a ten years absence, he returned wholly a new man; he brought with him his own peculiar ideas and views, his knowledge and industry. The particular situation in which he found himself and his principles at the same time, kept him at first at a distance from all public offices and employments, for he wished to owe every thing to himself alone; he devoted himself with zeal to the labours of authorship, and published in a more extended shape the *Historical Atlas*, of which he had already communicated the leading ideas and sketches to the public in the English language. This work at its first appearance met with extraordinary success; it was calculated for all readers; for children and grown people; for the pupil and the teacher; for the

man of the world and the scholar; for schools and for libraries. From six to seven years the Count passed a calm, peaceful, and uniform life; he was often heard to assure his friends, that in this short period, all the happiness, all the charms, and all the genuine enjoyments of life were enjoyed by him without alloy; honoured, loved, and esteemed by persons of worth; independent besides, and in a happy private condition, his days flowed on quietly and rapidly.

But in France, every new day added to the former wonders. Abroad, the victories of Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, the peace of Tilsit and the sway of Europe: at home the cheering appearance of an order of administration and a public prosperity without example: never before had any thing similar been seen in France. The throne was re-erected, new institutions suited to the spirit of the times had happily blended all parties

with each other, and all opinions approximated to each other; a man felt himself truly proud in being a Frenchman. Who, that had one germ of the noble in his heart, could remain a stranger to such great events, when it was allowed to every man to participate in them! The fiery and animated spirit of Count Las Casas was powerfully affected by all this; admiration for the head of the government, who had elevated the fame of France to such a height, filled his heart, but the career which he had formerly trod, made it difficult to his feelings of honour to approach him. A highly favourable opportunity for this unexpectedly presented itself. That chief of the French nation publicly declared that "he would "hereafter consider all as bad Frenchmen "who did not join him." Las Casas on this, flew to Napoleon, and gave himself up to him fairly and honestly, without any reservation, with a good heart and with pride. "I have," said he, "truly fulfilled the oath of my child-

hood which I swore to the last dynasty; it exists no more; we begin again with a new *Hugh Capet;* such a grand and sublime spectacle, such just claims to a throne did not appear before the eyes of our ancestors as now appear before ours. This new hero has elevated the fame of our country to the skies; his deeds are without example; he was the unanimous choice of a great people, the ruler whom all nations acknowledged, all spiritual and temporal authorities sanctioned."

It was singular enough that the destiny of the Count would so have it, that he should offer himself a sacrifice to error, to draw from the fountain of truth; under the banner of unlimited power he was to be initiated into the rights of nations. It was in his very banishment, as the support of the expelled monarch, on the classical soil of the sublime principles of a *Fox* and a *Whitbread,* that Las Casas attained the full conviction of the legi-

timacy of the new dynasty. The character of the Count forbade every thing like half resignation; he sighed but too much in secret, because he could only view the numerous great deeds which ennobled his country as an idle admirer; with eagerness he sought for an opportunity of sharing in them. The mass of the French army was in a foreign land; Napoleon at its head was in the capital of the Austrian monarchy. Availing themselves of this circumstance, the English attacked Flushing and showed themselves before the gates of Antwerp. Then France presented a noble spectacle; a band of citizens came forward without summons and marched as volunteers to the defence of their country's frontiers. Among them was Count de Las Casas. Renouncing the private condition to which he had long been accustomed, and all the sweets of domestic life, he left his wife in a dangerous state behind and hastened to meet the enemy. He obtained an appointment

on the general staff of the Prince of Ponte Corvo, now King John of Sweden, and his successor in command the Duke of Istria and of Reggio. Every day was for him a day of unusual labour and activity. "I have much lost time to recover," said he, "I have much yet to learn, and my time is short." His ardour increased every day. In embarking on the Scheld he was twice overset, and was on the point of suffering shipwreck; he was among the first who entered Flushing, which the English immediately abandoned when they saw themselves attacked. On this occasion he obtained the decree of the Emperor Napoleon which appointed him Chamberlain; this happened at the time of his marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa.

Las Casas now quitted the field of battle for the court; he carried with him a fervent zeal and good will, sincerity of heart and frankness, the prominent features of his cha-

racter. As on this slippery ground he happened one day to speak with warmth of the advantages of the English constitution, and the excellence of the British legislation, subjects which were at that time considered extremely ticklish, one of the court circle observed maliciously, "the Count is a passionate defender of the English." "Yes, Sir," retorted Las Casas with vivacity; "it is true I defend the English here in the palace, but when they appear on our frontiers, I fly to combat them. If every one acted in the same manner, both nations would perhaps live in peace and unity with each other."

A place at court, was according to the views of the Count by no means satisfactory to him; and the title of courtier would have been highly insupportable to him, had he not at the same time been able to connect with it some state employment. This agreed also with the views of Napoleon who was fond

of seeing such a union of court and state offices. Las Casas solicited and immediately obtained an appointment as Master of Requests in the council of state in the section of the Marine, the department of arms to which his youth was devoted.

A few days after this nomination, the Emperor of his own suggestion made choice of him for an important confidential mission; Holland was united to France; the Count received a commission to inspect and take possession of all the objects connected with the marine. Another mission for which the Emperor in like manner made choice of him of his own suggestion was of equal importance; this related to the liquidation of the public debts of the Illyrian provinces. When the minister urged as an objection to his sovereign, that he had nominated a man hitherto a stranger to the finance department, he received for answer from Napoleon; "I

" have a lucky hand; those on whom I lay " it are fit for every thing."

Las Casas justified this decision; already had the Illyrian provinces been three years united to France, and yet the creditors and pensioners of the state were still languishing in misery. This affair had several times been entered on, but always without any result for these unfortunate persons; through the care and the active zeal of the new liquidator, at the end of six months, the pensioners were paid, and within five months and a half a very considerable mass of claims, *pro* and *contra*, were liquidated; the whole business was terminated to the mutual consent of the public treasury and the state creditors.

On his return to Paris the Emperor appointed him, and again of his own free suggestion, to visit the half of all the departments of the empire, for the purpose of in-

specting the different institutions, the prisons, hospitals, and similar benevolent foundations for the relief of mendicity; he was also instructed to obtain on this journey accurate information with respect to all the naval stations, and other objects relative to the marine, from Toulon to Amsterdam.

The termination of this mission happened at the period of the return of Napoleon from Moscow; then followed the unfortunate campaign of Leipsic, and shortly afterwards the enemy penetrated into France. In Paris the formation of a numerous national guard took place. Las Casas, at first the second in the tenth legion of this body, in the absence of the appointed chief, soon saw himself at its head; his ardent zeal, his honesty, his sincere devotion to the national cause, contributed much to draw forth, and to confirm and strengthen the excellent spirit which never ceased to animate that legion. When the

enemy appeared under the walls of the capital, the greatest part of the tenth legion went voluntarily to meet them, and a number of its citizens fell on the field of honour. As member of the council of state, the Count was called to the Loire; he determined on remaining at his military post. Scarcely, however, was the information received that a capitulation had been signed, than he gave up the command immediately to his successor, with a written declaration that he would now, as the legion was no longer in any danger, devote himself to the fulfilment of other duties.

The Allies held their entrance into Paris, the senate pronounced the deposition of the former government, the Emperor gave in his renunciation, and then appeared again,—the King. The situation of the Count was now far more critical and singular than it was before on his return from exile. After so long an interval, that cause to which he had sacrificed his youth and paternal estate again

triumphed; those Princes, once the object of the reverence and the ardent wishes of his childhood, were returned.

Could Las Casas promise himself private advantages from the new state of things? Certainly he could. No claims were even more just than his were; his conduct under the imperial government was of such a nature, that his old friends, who came to the helm of affairs on the new order of things, flocked to him from all sides with offers and good wishes. "I shall certainly bring myself to "the determination of coming forward," he used to answer them; "my duty even de- "mands this, but my feelings are still too "much agitated by all that has taken place; "I require a few days of mourning." But to his more intimate friends he poured out his heart in sorrow. "Those princes," he would say, "are returned, who from my cradle "have been the objects of my love and most

" fervent prayers, whose names I never pro-
" nounced without that respect to which,
" from their misfortunes, and as my former
" commanders, they were entitled; they are
" returned, but if I may own it, they have
" no longer a place in my heart, for they
" have returned *through the breach of the*
" *national honour*."

In these difficult relations the Count showed a love of country worthy of antiquity, coupled with the frankness, honesty, and honour of the days of chivalry; his heart was oppressed by the humiliation of his country; his feelings revolted at the sentiments which he heard every where around him. " To
" serve the King," said he, " to love him, to
" be true to him, is now demanded by the
" obligations newly entered into; but to dis-
" own him who preceded him in the govern-
" ment, is to betray the cause of the nation,
" to expose it to danger and dishonour. Let

" this be well considered! To abuse him " whom we have ruined, to forsake him, is " neither more nor less than accumulating the " whole of the fame of late times around his " head, and loading us alone with the shame " and the disgrace of the past."

The Count did not delay a moment the avowal of these principles. From the day of the entrance of the Allies into France, from the moment the most of the public authorities and individuals thronged in crowds to accede to the sentence of depositions so illegally pronounced by the senate, he pertinaciously refused to sign the act of accession of the council of state. " How," he asked, " can you, " councillors of state, take such a step? how " can you consent to an act, which without " the least doubt will be rejected by the new " sovereign? Can that sovereign concede to " the senate the right of giving and again " withdrawing the crown in such a manner?

" And, independently of this altogether, are " we not the confidential servants of the " monarch who has been precipitated from " the throne? In this our situation, is it in " any respect permitted to us to express opi- " nions? *One* feeling only ought to animate " us; and if the new comer understand his " own interest well, you cannot recommend " yourselves better to him than by your un- " shaken fidelity towards his predecessor on " the throne."

A few days after the restoration of the old dynasty, in a review in the *Journal des Débats,* of a publication which had appeared on this event, several noblemen were named who on the day before the entrance of the Allies into Paris had assembled in the *Place de Louis XV.*, to express aloud their wishes for the return of the King, and the restoration of his dynasty, and among them was the name of Count Las Casas. The Count immediately

complained of this error, but the insertion of an article on the subject in the journal in question was refused to him. "It was im-"possible," he said in that article, "for me "to have done this act, for I commanded at "the very time the tenth legion of the na-"tional guard; colours in opposition to those "of the King were intrusted to me; I was "bound by oaths voluntarily taken by me; "how then could I possibly have violated "them, I who have always considered in-"violable fidelity the first duty of life?"

When the King and the Princes were occupied with the appointment of the officers of their household, many of the former *gardes du corps*, natives of his province, complained to him that they were now expelled by their former comrades, because they had not emigrated, and they urgently intreated the Count to furnish them with a certificate that it was their poverty at the time which alone kept

them from taking this step; they did not entertain the slightest doubt that Las Casas was now a flaming royalist, and they were seized with astonishment when he said to them, "Spare, my friends, your justification; boast rather that you have not "abandoned your country; the greatest of all "crimes is to remove from it with hostile intentions; this was an error of my youth, "and I still repent it every day; to this step "however I was led by so much honesty and "sincerity, that except myself no one is justified in reproaching me with it; a few weeks "ago while the imperial government still subsisted, I should not have been able to hold "this language to you, as it would then have "appeared to you suspicious; but now under "the King, when the act in question constitutes "a claim to reward, this confession serves to "relieve the oppression of my heart."

The flood of foreign soldiers with which

Paris was inundated, the dominion of the allies in France, the daily repeated humiliation of the country, were for the Count a heart-rending spectacle, the appearance of which he was not long able to sustain. To give vent to the pain which raged within him, he undertook a journey to England; but he could not renew the pleasure he formerly enjoyed there, for every thing appeared to him changed; but it was himself in which the change had taken place.

On his return to Paris, shortly afterwards Las Casas withdrew from the eye of the public, occupied himself exclusively with his private affairs, and enjoyed some days of repose when the 20th of March came. The shame of France is now extinguished, he thought, and more resplendent than ever will her fame re-appear through the heroic return of the man of the country and the sublime elevation of mind of the whole of a great nation, which

has risen to give him a joyful reception. The time of the residence in Elba has been the period of great probations, and now must the evidences of them be displayed. The Count was instantly named Councillor of State, and when he thanked Napoleon for it, he received for answer: "so much good has been "told me of you that I could not act otherwise "towards you; but besides it is with true plea-"sure on my part that this has taken place."

Las Casas now received from various quarters proofs of a good-will which was highly flattering to him. In almost all the ministries, at one and the same time situations were proposed for him; it was in agitation to send him in diplomatic missions to England, and then again the situation of imperial commissary in the departments was destined for him; for a long time also it was wished to give him the prefectures of Rouen and Metz. He was at last named President of what was at that

particular time of high importance, the Commission of Petitions. This ticklish but very interesting post could not have fallen into better hands; the zeal of the Count, his attachment to Napoleon, his feeling for every thing good, were the means of obtaining thousands of signatures in a short time, and of gaining innumerable hearts to him during the period of the three months.

When the ominous day of Waterloo again opened the abyss for France, this dreadful catastrophe was first learned at Paris by the quick return of the Emperor. Las Casas, his Chamberlain, hastened to him, and without solicitation again resumed his services beside him. On what does not the destiny of men sometimes depend? This accidental step was decisive of the remainder of his life; excepting this circumstance what could have given him a claim to connect the thread of his destiny with that of Napoleon? In reason he could

not demand to be selected from the multitude for so solemn an act. No external relations, no personal gratitude, no particular tie of friendship could have entitled him to leave wife, children, and country, and to devote himself in this way.

One day afterwards when the Emperor at St. Helena turned the conversation to the circumstances of those who accompanied him, he said to Las Casas: "but how has it so happened, my dear Las Casas, that you are now "here?" "Sire," answered the Count, "my "stars alone, and the honor of emigration have "brought me here; I now represent those of "the emigrants who were formerly loaded with "favours by your majesty."

The renunciation of Napoleon followed almost immediately his return to Paris, and from thenceforward his thoughts were necessarily occupied with leaving France. Las Casas de-

termined that he would not again separate himself from his person. In the days of adversity, his post appeared to him sacred and honorable; he availed himself therefore in the garden of Malmaison of a moment, when his duty allowed him a private interview with him, to prefer a request to Napoleon that he would permit him to connect himself for ever with his destiny. On this truly unexpected proposal, the Emperor eyed him from head to foot with a look of astonishment, and with a soft and tranquil voice uttered these words: "But are "you aware where that may lead you?" "I "have," answered the Count, "made no calcu- "lation at all in this respect; but the warmest "of my wishes would be gratified if my pray- "er should be granted." "Well, well!" was the reply of the Emperor, and this was all that he said on that occasion. Las Casas flew to Paris to pack up some linen, to tear himself from the cries of his wife, to embrace his little children, and to bring his oldest son from

the Lyceum; and already on the following day he was on the road to Rochefort.

It is known that Napoleon the moment he stepped into the coach sent to inform the provisional government: "that when he resigned "the sovereignty, he had not at the same time "renounced the noblest right of a citizen, that "of defending his country; that the situation "of things was well known to him, that if "demanded, he was certain of beating the "enemy in such a manner that more advanta-"geous negociations might be entered into; "but that even in case of victory, he would "not the less prosecute his journey without "delay." He received a refusal, and he reached Rochefort with his retinue without any escort, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people who flocked to the streets through which he passed; on every countenance was painted the wish to retain what they were now about to lose, and anxious apprehensions for the fu-

ture. On reaching the harbour, the English cruizers rendered his departure impossible, and the longer stay of Napoleon in the country would inevitably have been followed by a civil war. The generals appeared in person before him, and urged him to place himself again at their head; but his determination was irrevocable, "Civil war," he answered, "would now "be without object for the country; to me "alone perhaps it might be productive of uti- "lity, but this advantage I should never think "of purchasing at the expense of the noblest "blood; that I do not demand; for you, spare "yourselves for a better cause."

Amidst these difficult and extraordinary circumstances, the Count accompanied by Generals Savary and Lallemand was twice sent on board of an English cruizer; the commander had not yet obtained the necessary passes for the conveyance of Napoleon to the United States of America; on the contrary,

he had received orders to take from the deputies their passes, and not to respect the flag of truce. The English officer was, however, authorized to receive Napoleon with his retinue, and to convey him to England should this be agreeable to him. Napoleon did not hesitate a moment to accept this offer of hospitality, which as it placed him under positive laws fulfilled the object which he was endeavouring to attain in America. He wrote a memorable letter to the Prince Regent of Great Britain, and proceeded on board the *Bellerophon*. The rest is known.

The pencil of history will one day be enabled to paint in their true colours, the magnanimity displayed by Bonaparte on this occasion, and the honesty of the English ministers. History will also, perhaps, commemorate the fame of which these ministers by their conduct deprived England, as well as

the immortal triumph which was thereby withdrawn from the legislation of that country. They conveyed the illustrious victim from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland;* rummaged his effects; took away the little money which they found in his possession; disarmed his retinue, and reduced the number of those whom they allowed to accompany him to four; among these was Las Casas. A great number of persons had hitherto followed the Emperor, and the moment of separation was a scene as solemn as it was affecting. As Napoleon left his cabin, and repaired to the deck of the ship which he quitted, he saw himself surrounded by faithful servants who were forcibly compelled to remain behind; they clung to his knees and burst out into tears. Those alone to whom this happiness was conceded of following their master, displayed a smiling countenance. On this Las Casas turned to Lord Keith, the Admiral of the Channel fleet,

and observed; "you see however, my lord, "that it is those alone who remain behind "that weep."

The Count has drawn up an accurate account of all these circumstances; and from the moderation and prudent caution which characterizes this production, as well as the rank and the participation of the author, in all the events related by him, it forms a most important historical document.

The passage of Napoleon from Europe to St. Helena afforded for more than two months a spectacle unique in its kind, and furnished at the same time to the observer of men and their destinies important matter for reflection.

Napoleon had descended without any gradation from the throne to the prison, and he was thrown amongst enemies, who were em-

bittered by a twenty years' hatred, by fears and defeats, and who were besides blinded and prepossessed against him by all manner of detestable publications of a defamatory nature, which had been circulated among them with incessant industry. Every one on board the *Northumberland* was prepared to expect in the person to be received on board something more like a wild beast than a human being; but how great was the astonishment of all, when they now had an opportunity of forming a judgment for themselves of their illustrious captive. All these English could never cease speaking of the agreeableness and ease of his manners, the charms of his conversation, the cheerfulness of his disposition, and the imperturbable equanimity of his character; he soon became for them also the great man; besides they could not help expressing a particular interest for the four Frenchmen, distinguished for rank and property, who devoting themselves voluntarily, nay even joy-

fully, seemed only to vie with each other in their tender and affectionate care for their commander in his misfortune. In fact, on this passage, among all these enemies, embittered and stimulated as they were, there was not one to be found who did not express respect, compassion, nay even attachment to Napoleon in every possible way.

Of the four faithful servants who accompanied the Emperor, Las Casas was undoubtedly the one who had hitherto been the least known to him; and it might even be said he had hitherto remained almost a stranger to him; but in a few moments circumstances of a fortunate nature raised him to an equal footing with the most confidential, and he was of all of them perhaps the most useful.

He had lived long in Great Britain, and consequently could speak of the laws and

manners of that country, and serve at the same time as interpreter with respect to the language.

He had been a seaman, and consequently he could answer all questions respecting the vessel, the sea, the winds, and the course they were steering.

He had had access to the highest houses, and taken a part in the most distinguished societies.

He had executed the *Historical Atlas*, and he was therefore able to settle historical points, and to assign with confidence the different epochs.

He had been member of the Council of State, and he was on that account familiar with the administration, accustomed to labour, and to draw up papers.

Lastly, he had been educated in the Military School of Paris; some years before Napoleon it is true, but under the same masters and in the circle of the same fellow scholars; the time, therefore, the objects, the recollections, were almost the same; and the charm and the power of the influence of these things are well known.

The Count from the moment he entered the ship daily enjoyed, in consequence, the intimate conversation of the Emperor; this intimacy increased every day; and even during the passage Napoleon began already to dictate to him from memory his Italian campaigns.

On his arriving at St. Helena the Count enjoyed the inestimable advantage of being two months quite alone with Napoleon under the same roof, and passing a part of the day in the same apartment with him, as the

limited room of the remote house which was at first assigned as residence to the Emperor would not admit of the reception of more inmates.

When the residence was removed to Longwood, the confidence of the Emperor in Las Casas was firmly rooted, and his society had already become an affair of habit. The regular instruction given by the Count in the English language, frequent solitary walks taken together, and many nights passed by him by Napoleon's bedside, all contributed to give them the firmest confidence in each other; and it may justly be affirmed, that no person in this world, not even any of those related to him, have had such opportunities of learning to know and understand the Emperor, as the man who for eighteen months closely observed him, and that in all the relations of private life. It was not with the consent merely, but even with the

particular satisfaction of the Emperor, that this faithful servant undertook to bring him regularly every evening on paper an account of all that he had seen, or that had been confided to him throughout the day.

The utility of the Count to Napoleon; the writings with which it was known that he was occupied; the bold and proud tone in which, in his letters to England, he expressed himself respecting the unworthy conduct at St. Helena, were singly or altogether the occasion of a more narrow inspection, personal menaces, and immediate persecution on the part of the Governor.

Sir Hudson Lowe informed him, that if he continued to write in the same tone to Europe, he would effect his removal from Napoleon, and his transportation to the Cape of Good Hope; he shortly afterwards under the pretence of his being suspected withdrew from him

an inhabitant of the island who was his servant; a few days afterwards this person found means of appearing before Las Casas, notwithstanding the obstacles which were to be surmounted in approaching Longwood, and with an air of secrecy asked his old master if he had any commissions for London, to which he gave out that he was going. The Count confided to him the letters which were at first destined to be delivered into the Governor's own hands, but which on account of the above mentioned menaces were withheld. A few hours, however, had scarcely elapsed when the papers entrusted to the servant, either through treachery or some unfortunate accident were already in the hands of the Governor. In the very presence as it were of the Emperor, the Count was seized and dragged away; his apartments were violently broken open; his effects searched; the whole of his papers were taken possession of, and he himself was placed under strict confinement.

The public journals of every country have mentioned the excessive sufferings, and the numberless persecutions, which from that moment fell to the share of the Count. After his removal from Longwood, he was kept for five weeks in St. Helena in close custody; dragged from thence a distance of five hundred miles to the Cape of Good Hope, he was compelled to remain there eight months as a prisoner, in complete opposition to the most sacred provisions of the English laws. In a state of dangerous illness he was thrown into a small vessel of two hundred and thirty tons, with a crew of twelve men, and constantly treated as a prisoner, and he was obliged to endure all the hardships of a passage of nearly a hundred days.

On entering the Thames, a subaltern agent of the English police seized all his papers, refusing even to draw up an inventory of them, and then sent him as a prisoner to the conti-

nent. Struggling with death, he was dragged through the kingdom of the Netherlands, and when he left its frontiers, it was yet uncertain whether his fetters would be removed, or whether his imprisonment would be still continued. If they had any crime to lay to his charge, it was not a sufficient punishment to carry him round the world in this manner; but if his conduct was undeserving of reproach, these persecutions and inflictions were in reality most cruel.

The British wave which had brought the Count from such a distance, and borne him for such a length of time, at length receded on the other side of the Rhine. At Frankfort on the Maine, the angry waves threw out their victim, half dead in consequence of an imprisonment of thirteen months, and a voyage of one hundred and thirty days, over a space of three thousand French miles, at the very time when bodily infirmities, distress of mind, and

tortured feelings had nearly put an end to his sufferings. The health of the Count will never recover from the dreadful trial to which it was exposed; it has given rise to infirmities which he will carry with him to his grave. "The hand of my executioner at St. Helena "and the Cape of Good Hope," he frequently exclaimed when overpowered by his sufferings, "will bring me to my grave before my time."

Immediately after his arrival at Frankfort, Las Casas petitioned Austria for protection.— "Sire," he wrote to the Emperor Francis, "he "who, great under all circumstances, from "the rock of misery wrote these noble words "which have given a high elevation to my "heart: 'Wherever you may go, boast of "'the fidelity which you have shown to me'— "he has given me claims on the benevolence "of all kings. Sire, I place myself under "your Imperial Majesty's protection!"

This petition was immediately granted, and since that time the Count has been left in peace.

Scarcely had Las Casas fixed his residence at Frankfort, when from every quarter he was met with a tender and affectionate interest, an active sympathy, and offers of every kind in order to sweeten and allay his sufferings. High and low, persons near and at a distance from him, countrymen and strangers, all magnanimous souls flocked to see the man whose greatness of character, and magnanimity had alone plunged him in such calamity.

The Count rejected all visits and offers, and withdrew into the solitude of mourning and pain. "At a distance from politics," he said, "and paying homage only to the feelings of "personal love, I will employ my last mo- "ments in endeavours to send some consolation "to that ominous rock; leave me in peace to "fulfil this sacred duty, and I shall esteem

" myself happy; I demand nothing more than " to be the beggar of Belisarius."

The hero of history, the hero of the century, Napoleon, immediately after the Count was torn from his side, in a writing with his own hand, gave him a testimonial which places him in the rank of those, who by their constancy, their inviolable fidelity, and moral virtues have made themselves ornaments of humanity. The journals of every country have communicated extracts of this letter, the contents of which are as honorable to the heart of the great man who wrote it, as flattering to the faithful servant to whom this letter is an immortal reward. We will select a few passages from it.

" My dear Count Las Casas," it is said in it, " my heart keenly feels what you suffer, " since you were torn from my side.

" Your conduct at St. Helena, has been like

" your whole life, honourable and irreproach-
" able; it gives me pleasure to say this to you.

" Your society had become necessary to me.
" How many nights have you not passed
" during my illness by my bedside!!

" Wherever you may go, boast of the fidelity
" which you have shewn to me, and of the
" love which I bear to you.

" If you see again one day my wife and my
" son, embrace them!!!

" As every thing leads to the supposition that
" you will not be allowed before your departure
" to visit me once more, receive herewith my
" embraces, the assurance of my esteem and
" of my friendship. Farewell!"

We close here this biographical sketch, which in a narrow circle contains vicissitudes of

fortune and situations of life in which constancy and other manly virtues have been subjected to a high degree of probation. Las Casas stepped into the world on the stage of superfluity and external grandeur. He was thrown amongst the multitude and even into he abyss of misery and want; by courage, diligence, and labour, he again rose above this situation. From the charms and attractions of a private life he made a transition to the cares, troubles, and uneasiness of a public life. And from the summit of felicity, he was finally precipitated into an abyss of troubles which the human imagination can only picture to itself with dismay. These are the singular and unusual circumstances of a life, distinguished by vicissitudes of fortune, and severe trials of virtue, which have always been passed laudably and irreproachably. Las Casas has often been heard to affirm that he repented of none of all the circumstances of his life; what he lamented only was, that he

had not always duly availed himself of them to his own advantage; but he could affirm this much with pride, that from none of them either his conscience or his heart were in the least burdened.

A distinguished mildness of disposition, honesty, a feeling heart, pleasant manners, and the reliance which might safely be placed in him in society, procured the Count in all periods of his life, in all places, and in all situations, tender and intimate friends, and left on the minds of all with whom he was ever connected publicly or privately, a feeling of good-will towards him.

In 1814 when the catastrophe in France took place, he was given to understand both by written and oral communications from Holland and Illyria, where he had been some time employed in commissions for the Emperor, that in case the calamity of his country should over-

take him personally, he had only to bear in mind that he possessed a place of refuge and friends in distant lands.

The domestic and private conversation of the Count is able, agreeable, convincing, and both various and instructive; but it is impossible for him in a society of several persons to carry on a regular discussion, and duly to defend or maintain any cause. This last circumstance occasioned by a want of self-confidence and a high degree of reserve, the consequence of it, were the cause of depriving him of a most brilliant piece of fortune which was within his reach; accident had placed it a moment before him, so that he had only to stretch out his hands and seize it; of this he had afterwards a certain knowledge from the very best source.

The prominent qualities to which he owes all the advantages which he has enjoyed in

the course of his life, might be said to be the work of his own creation. He had been continually employed in endeavours to form and perfect his moral character; to sharpen his judgment by the dissection and examination of difficult questions; to free himself from prejudices by reflection and by the search after truth; and, above all things, to keep his imagination in constant activity by directing it towards elevated and useful objects. A noble soul; a warm heart; a love for every thing good approaching to enthusiasm, and a certain dash of the romantic, were at all times the main springs of his life.

The magnanimous devotion to Napoleon however, throws all the other noble actions of the Count into the shade, and will without doubt transmit his memory to future ages. The opinion of all parties coincides in declaring his conduct on this occasion to be heroic, wonderful and sublime, and in bestow-

ing on him the name of the martyr of devotion, the hero of fidelity. During his imprisonment in the enemy's country at the Cape of Good Hope, he found one day on his writing desk an anonymous letter in verse, of which the rhyme betrayed perhaps something of a foreign origin, but to the sentiments of which every one will certainly most readily subscribe. The following were the verses :

Digne héritier des vertus de ton nom,
De Las Casas imitateur fidèle,
Lui d'un peuple opprimé fut l'ardent champion,
Toi d'un nouveau Richard te montres le Blondelé.

Besides the qualities above mentioned, Las Casas is also distinguished by a high degree of disinterestedness and self denial, and by an almost blind confidence in the rectitude and the sincerity of other men ; this drew down on him at Longwood the reproach that he was not unfrequently as unsuspecting and as credulous as a child.

The Count has several children; his wife is descended from the family of Kergarion, one of the most distinguished in Britanny, and one of the most celebrated in French history. When the news reached her of the dreadful deportation to the rock of St. Helena, neither the great distance, nor the dangers and hardships of a sea voyage, nor her weak state of body, nor her little children, could deter her from the heroic resolution of sharing the sufferings of her husband; she was incessant in her intreaties to the English government to permit her to carry her design into execution. The refusal of her intreaties was a signal favour of heaven; for she would have left Europe at the very time her husband was dragged from St. Helena. From what hardships and what sufferings has she not escaped!

Las Casas has received two highly interesting presents from Napoleon. One of them is a small camp *étui* with which Na-

poleon honoured him at Briars in the moment of landing at St. Helena, observing; "I made "use of this *étui* the day before the battle of "Austerlitz." The second not less an historical object in its kind, is a pair of spurs which he received from the Emperor at Longwood. On giving them, the Emperor asked the servant where he had used them? "Sire," answered the servant, "in the campaign of Dresden, and "in that of Champ-Aubert." What high value will not all these things have one day for posterity!

There are several publications of Las Casas and memoirs on objects of administration, &c. namely,

I. The *Historical Atlas*, of which mention has already been made, and which was received by the public with distinguished applause. It had a large sale. It includes all countries, all times, all opinions, and all classes

of civil society, and forms in itself as it were a whole library. It serves as a manual to the merchant, the teacher, the man of learning and the man of the world. When on the arrival of Napoleon on board the English ship, on his arrival at St. Helena, and on the passage of strangers through that island, he found the *Historical Atlas* universally known, he reproached himself with having hitherto been so little acquainted with that work. He first examined it with attention when on board the *Northumberland;* he afterwards perused it frequently at Longwood, and never laid it down without adding, "What an admirable collection! "What details! What a noble review! Your "book," said he one day to the Count, "has "been very successful, but I should have pro- "cured for it a very different degree of success "had I possessed a proper knowledge of it."

II. A good number of Reports and Memoirs on various subjects of administration;

the spirit of an enlightened man of business and of a good citizen is every where perceptible in them. These Memoirs came first into the cabinet of the Emperor, and were afterwards transmitted to the different ministries. The most important are:

Rapport sur la Mission en Hollande. Exposé des diverses Branches de l'Administration, et particulièrement de tous les Détails de la Marine, ses Ressources, ses Améliorations, etc. etc.

Mémoire sur l'Organisation de la Marine matérielle et personnelle de l'Empire, Systême de Guerre à adopter dans les Circonstances politiques du Moment, 1810.

Rapport sur la Mission en Illyrie, sur la Liquidation de la Dette et les diverses Branches de son Administration, leur Amélioration, &c. 1811.

Mémoire sur la Création d'une Marine dans l'Adriatique, l'Exploitation des immenses Forêts Illyriennes, et la certitude de régner en peu de tems dans cette Mer et les Parages adjacents, etc.

Rapport sur les Dépôts de Mendicité de l'Empire, les Prisons publiques, les Maisons de Correction, leur Amélioration, etc. 1813.

III. The journal regularly kept of all that was said by Napoleon every day at St. Helena during eighteen months; his public and private conversations, &c. This journal is still in the hands of the English authorities. The value of such a document depends on its contents and its genuineness. History demands it back, and it is hoped the demand will not be made in vain.

MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT DE LAS CASAS.

PART II.

LETTER

FROM

COUNT DE LAS CASAS AT ST. HELENA

TO

LUCIEN BONAPARTE,

CONTAINING

A faithful Account of the Voyage of Napoleon to St. Helena, and of his Residence, Manner of Living, and Treatment on that Island.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

All the public journals of Europe have spoken of the discovery of a secret correspondence, on account of which Count Las Casas, formerly Counsellor of State of France and Chamberlain of the Emperor, one of the faithful few who accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, was first transported from that island to the Cape of Good Hope, and afterwards conveyed back to Europe. This secret correspondence discovered by Sir Hudson Lowe, the English governor, consisted of a letter to Prince Lucien Bonaparte in Rome; in which Las Casas gave an exact and authentic relation of the voyage of Napoleon to the island of St. Helena, and of his residence, way of living, and treatment there. The

English seized the original of this letter, and it is either still in the hands of the British governor of St. Helena, or it has been transmitted by him to the British ministry at London.

The author had however preserved a copy of it among his papers, and he has been so fortunate as to bring it with him to Europe. This memorable document translated from the original French is now for the first time introduced to the knowledge of the public. Neither the French text nor an English translation has ever yet appeared in print. The translator had the advantage of executing his task under the eyes of the author. We have every reason to believe that this production as it is here given to the public, (making allowance for a few trifles perhaps, and matters of secondary importance,) corresponds exactly with the original, the discovery of which brought down on its author

so many sufferings, vexations, and persecutions. A few things only may have been added from recollection in the original, which were not inserted in the copy.

In the hundred days after the return of Napoleon from the island of Elba, the Count was placed as Chamberlain beside Prince Lucien. When the Emperor terminating his political career and renouncing for ever all thoughts of ambition, adopted the resolution of fixing his residence in the free States of America, he chose among others, Las Casas to accompany him. This honour was joyfully accepted by Las Casas who had determined that he would never more separate himself from the man for whom he was filled with so much admiration and felt in his heart so warm an attachment. But fate had decreed otherwise. It was force, however, alone, which succeeded in destroying the favourite plan of his free and determined will; no regard was

paid by force to the inviolable fidelity with which the servant clung to his former master and sovereign, who appeared to him still greater in his misfortunes than in the splendour of triumph; no regard was paid to such a display of generous devotion which merited a better reward. A loving wife and children, towards whom the heart of their father was filled with tender affection, had been left behind by the unfortunate Las Casas, that he might follow, thousands of miles from his country, the man to whom, without being indebted for estate or wealth, he was devoted with his whole heart and soul. And when the object of a long and dangerous voyage was fortunately attained; when the haven of repose was finally reached, and he could give himself wholly up to his feelings; then was he suddenly torn by force from the side of the man to whom his society and acquirements seemed to render him almost indispensable.

Perhaps when Las Casas parted from Lucien to accompany Napoleon to Rochefort, he gave him the consolatory assurance that he would communicate to him from time to time an account of what might befall his brother in foreign lands. Scarcely had they reached that island so far distant from every continent and surrounded by swelling billows in the wilderness of the ocean, when the faithful companions in misfortune of the former Emperor saw themselves constrained to subscribe a paper, importing that they would abstain from entering into any secret correspondence for the purpose of aiding the escape of Napoleon from St. Helena. Should any of them make the attempt and be discovered in the act, the punishment was to be perpetual separation from their beloved master, and removal to Europe. They were all so devoted to Napoleon, that nothing appeared to them more severe than this removal; for willingly they suffered with him every inconvenience, sharing by his side

the dreary and joyless stillness of a hermit's life on an inhospitable island, and voluntarily renouncing all the pleasures and enjoyments of the world. Days, weeks, months, years, passed on in uninterrupted solitude; no news from Europe reached the island: they were glad when they could find an accidental notice, respecting some of the dear objects they had left so far behind them, in a couple of English journals which from time to time came into their hands. But from these very papers they soon ascertained that every thing respecting Napoleon was grossly misrepresented; that incessant efforts had been made to supply the place of truth by the basest falsehoods, and that an unbounded course was allowed to the most vindictive party spirit, and the most coarse and vulgar calumnies. Napoleon himself never lost that rare equanimity which he has uniformly possessed, even in the heat of battle, in the contemplation of so many displays of that cowardice which seeks only to

trample on the fallen; often enough had he learned to despise the actions of men, and particularly of the great, and what he now experienced could only confirm him in his previous opinions. But his companions in misfortune were one and all enraged at such an unvaried course of deceitful hypocrisy, low calumny, and ingratitude on the one hand, and at the depravity of feeling on the other, which could derive any satisfaction from the indignities offered to the lion in his chains, whom they so much feared when free.

Las Casas had employed himself in keeping a journal, in which, with the most careful punctuality, he gave an account of every thing that happened to Napoleon and his companions, from the time of their leaving France. A circumstantial relation was here given of what was daily said and done by Napoleon. It contained nothing but an unvarnished relation of facts, and it seemed therefore the best calcu-

lated for exposing in all their nakedness the many unfounded tales and lies which malice and wickedness had intentionally invented and propagated. But alas in times when party spirit prevails, the demon of persecution may pursue without hindrance her wicked game, and attack and calumniation may be open to every one, while on the other hand no one is allowed to repel the calumny! The journal has reached Europe; but care has been taken to prevent its contents from reaching the public eye. Perhaps they are afraid of affording an opportunity to the public of expressing its opinion aloud on the subject. Whoever is employed in deception cannot endure the naked truth.

Napoleon had left behind in the distant west, a loving mother, a tender wife, a hopeful son, brothers and sisters, and many other relations and friends. Were they to be all kept in anxious and cruel uncertainty respecting the fate

of him to whom all were attached by ties of affection and gratitude, and whose hard fate must have filled them with double sympathy? Ought not they at least to have been informed of the true state of things, which such endeavours were made to conceal from the eyes of the world, a state of things which was so much misrepresented, that in the immense distance, it was impossible to separate the truth from falsehood? But there are men by whom all the feelings that dwell in the human breast are accounted as nothing, when they wish to gratify their passions. The unfortunate man who had been almost deified in his prosperity, was now unfeelingly interdicted from even the most harmless communications to his family. Las Casas moved by this cruel and revolting conduct, which indeed excited in him feelings of the most rooted disgust, seems then to have recollected the promise which he made to Lucien Bonaparte on leaving France. A favorable opportunity unexpectedly offered itself for con-

veying this circumstantial account to Europe, and Las Casas did not hesitate to avail himself of it.

A servant of British extraction whom the Count took into his service at St. Helena, was to sail with the first vessel for England. He undertook to deliver punctually the letter which was entrusted to him with so much care. But he had scarcely left Longwood with the treasure committed to his custody when it was in the hands of the British Governor. Count Las Casas is to this moment unacquainted with the means of which Sir Hudson Lowe availed himself to defeat all the precautions which had been adopted, and to obtain possession of the letter. The practised cunning of the Governor may have enabled him to discover the existence of this letter, and it may have been taken forcibly from the messenger the moment he entered the ship; or he may have dexterously employed an Englishman to

gain the confidence of his master by all manner of artifices, that he might induce him to take the step which the Governor had at heart, in order to betray him afterwards. Las Casas has never since heard any thing of this man. The latter supposition would almost seem to be the truth, and the Governor had no other view perhaps than to find an occasion which he had long wished for, for separating by force from Napoleon, a man who was attached to him with all his heart and soul, and who from his knowledge and acquirements was of such great utility to him. For, in the judgment of Las Casas, the whole of the endeavours of the British Governor at St. Helena are directed to the annoying him by every means in his power, that he may cause him to drain the cup of misery to the very lees.

The letter addressed by Count Las Casas to Lucien Bonaparte was the *corpus delicti*, by the discovery of which the Governor conceived him-

self authorised to let the whole weight of his vengeance fall on the man, who on account of the attachment which under all circumstances he had shewn to Napoleon, and the resistance which he had with constant prudence opposed to his pretensions, he endeavoured more particularly to persecute with his most bitter hatred. At all events the discovery of a secret political correspondence having for object the escape of Napoleon from the island of St. Helena, carried on by an individual in the retinue of the Ex-emperor, could only justify Governor Lowe in removing him from the island, and sending him back to Europe. But the lust of vengeance of this man was not to be so easily satisfied. Count Las Casas after his removal by force from Longwood, was treated as a prisoner, guarded as a criminal, and, after some time, transported from St. Helena to the Cape of Good Hope as the English colony nearest to that island; and there kept many months in strict and solitary confinement at

a distance from Cape-Town and all polished society, deep in the interior of the country of the Hottentots; till, at last, after all these sufferings and tedious persecutions, it was thought proper to throw the prisoner into a small vessel bound for Europe. All this is more circumstantially described in the foregoing authentic memoirs of Count Las Casas.

The Count succeeded, though not without great difficulty, in concealing from the Argus eyes of the British commander and his guards a considerable number of his papers and manuscripts, of more or less importance, and of no common interest for history; and in securing them on board the ship which was ordered to convey him to England. But scarcely had this vessel entered the Thames, when English police agents, at the special command and with the secret instructions of Lord Bathurst, took possession of all his papers, portfolios, books, and letters. Among them

was the copy of the letter addressed to Lucien Bonaparte, and dated from Longwood in St. Helena, which we here lay entire before our readers for their opinion, and which was then a second time on the point of being destroyed, or at least withdrawn from publicity.

Las Casas was compelled to leave all his papers behind in the hands of the British agents in England; they allowed him however previously to affix his seal to the packet. The Count himself was not allowed to set his foot on English ground; he, and his son of eighteen, who, at St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope, never left his side, were conveyed on board another vessel and landed for the first time at Ostend, where he was delivered up to the custody of the authorities of the Netherlands. When on the station of the Thames, he endeavoured to obtain leave to embark for the United States of America, but without success,

It is known from all the journals that Count Las Casas, when he again set foot on the European continent was escorted like a state criminal through the whole of the kingdom of the Netherlands, under the constant superintendance of the police, without being allowed to halt in any one town, notwithstanding the state of his health which was shattered by so many disasters. On the frontiers of the Netherlands he was delivered over to the Prussian authorities who conveyed him in the same manner to Frankfort on the Maine; where, after such long and incessant persecutions, he at length found, under the protection of Austria, a quiet and secure asylum from all further oppression.

In Frankfort he again recovered possession of that manuscript which we have communicated in a translation to the public. Mr. Lamb, the British Envoy to the Diet and the town of Frankfort, received from his government

a commission to deliver up to Count Las Casas all the packets taken from him in the Thames; and in one of them he found under seal the copy of the letter addressed from St. Helena to Lucien Bonaparte.

This production which may be numbered among the most interesting documents of modern times, is of the highest importance to the politician as well as the historian. A clear light sufficient to enable us to come to a correct decision on the subject, is here for the first time thrown on a number of events and transactions, which are either altogether unknown in Europe, or which must have appeared enigmatical and almost inexplicable; so much were they disguised and disfigured by passion and the unfair aspect under which they were exhibited. No man of late times has been more the subject of party rage than Napoleon. This extraordinary character has seldom been viewed through a correct me-

dium or been the subject of an impartial judgment. In the same manner as in the zenith of fortune he was extolled beyond measure, so now in the nadir of misfortune he is equally undervalued beyond measure. If in our days many rulers have an interest in striving in every possible way to detract from the character of him, before whom they so long trembled; if they take a pleasure in the cowardly abuse of the mighty fallen, before whom they so lately abjectly prostrated themselves, now that he is stript of his power and in chains; if force is misapplied for the purpose of concealing truth behind the mark of deception, and misleading the public opinion by a system of fraud and dissimulation: it then becomes more than ever necessary for the friend of truth undauntedly to proclaim an *audiatur et altera pars*; that a few rays of light may at least penetrate into that obscurity by which such evident attempts have been made to bury the truth.

The most erroneous ideas are entertained in Europe respecting almost every thing which relates to Napoleon at St. Helena. This letter will dispel the fog which shrouded the truth in obscurity. Lords Castlereagh and Bathurst, who now rule the British cabinet, may find in it sufficient reasons to induce them to let him whom they formerly dreaded now feel that he is in their power; but posterity, which is more correct and impartial in its judgments than the present age, will in turn pronounce sentence on them; and indeed it will be not a little difficult even for their contemporaries to recognize in their treatment of Napoleon any thing of that English generosity which was formerly so celebrated. Had Napoleon in the height of his distress voluntarily thrown himself into the arms of an Alexander, instead of relying on British sincerity, how very different might not the lot of the unfortunate monarch have been? A Tamerlane could order a Bajazet to be carried about in an iron cage,

that he might exhibit the powerful sultan whom he overcame in a state of the lowest humiliation; but what name would be assigned in the annals of history to a ruler of the nineteenth century, who should wish to select Timur Tamerlane as his model?

Whoever peruses the following letter without party feelings, will hardly be able to persuade himself that an Emperor of Russia, the exalted founder of a holy Christian alliance, whose magnanimous sentiments have been so much extolled; an Emperor of Austria, connected with the unfortunate Prince by the indissoluble ties of near relationship, can approve of that which is now going on in the distant island of St. Helena. And the person of Napoleon does not belong to the English ministers alone; it belongs with equal right to those monarchs; and hence they have their own commissioners on the island.

This production, from the nature of the reporter, and the particular situation in which he was placed, whereby it becomes a true historical document, possesses a peculiar interest. It is of more value than the well known manuscript from St. Helena, which is destitute of all authenticity, and was composed in Europe. The author wrote it for the sake of the family of Napoleon, and from this its original destination, it is evident that he could have no motive to make use of harsher colours in his pictures than were necessary in a full relation of facts. The disposition in which he then was is evident from the language and the expressions of which he has made choice; but his character answers for the truth.

LETTER, &c.

My Lord,

I have just received your letter from Rome, dated March 6, 1816. I esteem myself fortunate that your Highness has been pleased to give me this proof of your remembrance. I cannot better exert myself to make a suitable return for the kindness you have shown me, than in transmitting to you from time to time for your whole family, a circumstantial and continued narrative of all that relates to the Emperor, and particularly his health, occupations, and the treatment which he experiences. I shall be particularly careful to lay things before you exactly as they have taken place. In doing so, I feel assured that your Highness will if necessary conceal from the susceptible heart of a mother those circum

stances of which the recital might give her too much pain.

That my report may be complete, I will carry it back almost to the moment, when I took leave of your Highness in the Palais Royal to place myself voluntarily in the service of the Emperor. I commence, therefore, with the period when I followed his Majesty to Malmaison, with the intention of never more leaving him; beginning my relation with the moment when the Emperor on entering the coach, amidst the thunder of the enemy's guns, in a message to the provincial government at Paris informed them, "that when he renounced "the sovereignty, he had by no means re- "nounced at the same time the noblest right of "a citizen, that of combating for his country; "that, if demanded, he was ready to place "himself at the head of the army; that the "situation of things was sufficiently known to "him; that he was certain of gaining such ad-

" vantages over the enemy as would afford " the government time and means to enter " on negotiations with more advantage; and " that he should not the less prosecute his " journey immediately after obtaining the " victory."

On the rejection of this offer on the part of the provisional government, we set out on the evening of the 29th June for Rochefort, where two frigates were ordered to convey us to the United States of America. This was the asylum of which the Emperor had made choice.*

* Even at the time of Napoleon's first renunciation of the throne, a wish was entertained by not a few of his friends that the Emperor would adopt the resolution of choosing the United States for the future residence of himself and his family; and when he was sovereign of the island of Elba, and the apprehensions of the European courts seemed to have no end so long as he remained in

The Emperor, with a part of his retinue which consisted of several coaches, performed

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Europe; and there were even abundance of indications that, notwithstanding the treaties concluded with him, it was in contemplation, in more quarters than one, to adopt violent measures against him; these wishes and demands were reiterated. The letter which on this subject the Duke of Otranto (Fouché) wrote to the Emperor at Elba, has obtained publicity through the journals. On the second renunciation of the throne, this plan was to have been actually carried into execution. Joseph Bonaparte set off in haste before Napoleon, and New York was fixed on as the general rendezvous for the whole of the rest of the family, as well as of those persons who might not deem it advisable to remain in France. Napoleon, himself, had never entertained a thought of amassing a private estate, or even of laying by money. Every thing that has been publicly circulated on this subject is pure invention. But the brothers and sisters of Napoleon, particularly Joseph and Lucien, possessed considerable wealth, and nothing more was sought for in America than to live free from care and secure from all further persecution, and to follow the calm pursuits of agriculture and literature.

this journey without any escort, and amidst the acclamations and greetings of multitudes who poured in from all quarters to the roads along which he passed. It was difficult to remain unmoved at such a spectacle. The Emperor was the only person who was free from agitation. On every countenance it was easy to read regret for that which they lost, and anxious apprehension for that which was to come. This was, indeed, an affecting and singular spectacle. It furnished matter both for feeling and reflection.

On our arrival at Rochefort, we remained several days in anxious expectation of the passes, which had been promised us on our departure from Paris. In the mean time events followed each other so quickly, and every thing assumed so rapid a progress, that circumstances prescribed the propriety of our weighing anchor without delay, and putting to sea. The enemy had already entered Paris;

our main army fell back behind the Loire full of discontent and rage. The armies in La Vendée and of Bordeaux participated in the same feelings. All the inhabitants were in an extraordinary fermentation; from all parts the Emperor was intreated, nay even overwhelmed, with petitions to take on himself the care of the public welfare and to guide the fortunes of France. But his final determination had now been taken. On the other hand, the English cruizers were in view, and hovered day and night about the port of Rochefort. Every pass seemed guarded and closed. Besides the winds were uniformly contrary. While in this manner, every account which we received from the interior imperiously commanded us to to hasten our departure, every thing at sea concurred to render it impossible. In this extremity of embarrassment, the Emperor dispatched me to an English cruizer, as from my early emigration from France and my residence in England,

I possessed a knowledge of the English. I asked if they had heard any thing of and had any knowledge of the passes which we were to receive for America. With respect to this circumstance, they were in a complete state of ignorance. I painted our true situation; the offers which had been made to the Emperor; his refusal, and his fixed resolution to abide by the determination which he had once adopted. I put a question in such a manner that I might be enabled to learn whether it might not be possible to get away in a neutral vessel. The English captain had orders to take any such vessel. I spoke of the sailing of the frigates under the flag of truce. The English captain had orders to attack them. I represented to him the whole extent of the evil, of which he might be the cause, were he to compel the Emperor to return again to land. He assured me that, in this respect, he wished to take nothing on himself; in the mean time he

would apply without delay to his admiral and give me an answer within two days.

During the interval, every thing on our part which the imagination can suggest was exhausted, for the purpose of discovering means of escaping from this port, and gaining the open sea. Even the desperate idea was suggested of crossing the ocean in two light and frail fishing barks. Young pupils of the marine, animated by the most fiery courage, and an enthusiasm which sets all obstacles at defiance, had come to offer their services on such a hazardous design, and to man the boats. The Emperor adopted the plan; but in the moment of departure, we found ourselves compelled to abandon it. For among other difficulties, the seamen informed us that it would be absolutely necessary to land on the coasts of Spain and Portugal to take in fresh water.

In the mean time the moral storm raged

more and more furiously around us, and the thunder, in constant progression, was advancing nearer and nearer to us. The demands and entreaties addressed to the Emperor increased. Generals came in person, supplicating him in the most earnest manner to put himself at their head. The Emperor remained immoveable, and no representation could induce him to renounce the determination he had once taken. The firmness and strength of his character are well known. "No," he uniformly answered, "the evil is now without remedy. It is "not in my power now to do any thing for the "country. A civil war would be now without "object, without advantage to the kingdom. "For me alone it might be useful in so far as "it might be the means of obtaining many "advantageous conditions for me; but I "must purchase them with the inevitable "loss of whatever France possesses of noble "and magnanimous; I abhor this."

It was this very way of thinking which prevented the Emperor, when his renunciation occasioned by treachery, became necessary, from reserving Corsica to himself; no hostile cruizer could have prevented him from reaching that island. But he did not wish that it should be said of him, in the shipwreck which he foresaw the French people would suffer, that he alone procured an asylum for himself, having retired to his own home.

In vain I waited all this time for an answer from the English, and as I received none I returned to the English vessel. The captain had not yet received any communication from his admiral; but he informed me this time, that on the part of his government he was empowered to convey Napoleon and his suite to England, in case this should be agreeable to him. I answered that I should immediately communicate this offer to the Emperor, and

that I did not doubt that he would magnanimously and without distrust avail himself of it, in order to obtain in England itself the means of repairing to America. The captain observed, that he could not give us a certain assurance that this would be granted; but he assured us, and several officers expressed the same opinion, that we ought not to entertain the slightest doubt of our experiencing in England, atreatment worthy of the high character, the greatness and magnanimity of the British nation.

On my return the Emperor assembled us around him, to hear our opinions. We all agreed that we ought to accept the offer of hospitality which was made to us. The slightest apprehension did not occur to any of us. "An "opportunity," said we, "will here be afforded "to the Prince Regent for acquiring renown, and "it will be eagerly seized by him. What tri- "umph can be more glorious for England than

"such a noble confidence displayed by her "greatest enemy! What a noble superiority "of conduct contrasted with that of a father-"in-law and former friend and ally! This "transaction will hereafter constitute one of "the proudest pages of her history! What "an homage will thereby be yielded to the "merits and excellence of the English laws!"

I ventured on this occasion to adduce the high opinion which your Highness entertained of the national character of the English people; their morality; their elevated sentiments, and their influence on the proceedings of the government. The Emperor was of opinion that his departure for America would certainly be viewed with jealousy, and would therefore experience some difficulties; but as he made choice of the asylum merely that he might live under certain laws, and England offered him the same advantages, it was of little consequence to him should he be compelled to re-

main there. He embraced even the resolution of remaining there; and with this view he wrote with his own hand a letter addressed to the Prince Regent, the contents of which were at the time published in every journal of Europe.*

I returned the same evening on board the *Bellerophon*, to pass the night there, and I announced at the same time that the Emperor would arrive the following morning. I was

* This letter was in these words:

"ROYAL HIGHNESS! Exposed to the factions which "divide my country, and to the enmity of the great pow-"ers of Europe, I have terminated my political career. "I come like Themistocles to throw myself on the hospi-"tality of the British people. I place myself under the "protection of the British laws, and claim it from your "Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, "and the most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

"*Rochefort*, 13*th July*, 1815."

accompanied by General Gourgaud, His Majesty's Adjutant, who was immediately dispatched to England. He carried with him the letter to the Prince Regent, and he was commissioned to communicate at the same time to His Royal Highness the Emperor's wish to land on his territories under the title of *Colonel Duroc*, and to settle himself with his approbation in some province which might agree with his health.

Scarcely had the Emperor reached the *Bellerophon*, when the admiral of the fleet made his appearance, and cast anchor beside us. His Majesty expressed a desire to visit the *Superb*, the admiral's ship; and Admiral Hotham paid every mark of honour and respect to the Emperor with a grace and an elegance highly creditable to his character.

We now set sail, and our security was so great, that every one of us indulging in the

most favorable anticipations, and relying on the assurances we had received, passed our time during the whole of the voyage, in innocent dreams respecting our new destination in the haven of repose, and under the protection of British hospitality. We were far from having the least suspicion of our dreadful mistake. Scarcely however had we cast anchor on the English coast, when every thing around us assumed a most ominous appearance. The captain communicated immediately with the land; on his return, it was easy to read in his countenance all the evils which awaited us. He was an honorable man, who had executed his instructions without knowing any thing of the dreadful secret under which they were dictated. We had been condemned before hand to be cast on the inhospitable rock of St. Helena, in the midst of the ocean, and five hundred leagues from all land.

From this moment we were placed under the

strictest superintendence. All communication with us was interdicted. We were surrounded by armed vessels, which by discharges of musketry kept back the curious who ventured to approach us. Soon afterwards the dreadful sentence, so unique in its kind, was announced to us in the harshest expressions and most bitter forms. Not a moment was lost in carrying it into execution. They took possession of our swords, rummaged our baggage, in order as they said to take our money, our bills, diamonds, and valuable effects under their care. They supposed they would find the Emperor in possession of treasures: but how little they knew of him! They found only four thousand Napoleons in his possession, and a little silver plate which they left him; objects of daily and momentary use; some linen; articles of dress and several chests of his camp library... this constituted the whole of the property of him who had ruled the world, and disposed of kings and kingdoms.

We were conveyed from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, to proceed through an immense ocean to our future destination at the extremity of the globe.

We had followed the Emperor in great numbers; but four only were allowed to share with him his sentence of condemnation. Those who were forced to remain behind wept and sighed for grief, when they saw him depart. One of those to whom the happiness was conceded of following him, could not forbear observing to Lord Keith, who was close beside him; "You will observe, my lord, that tears "are only shed by those who remain behind."

The Emperor on quitting the English coast, left behind him a short, simple, and energetic protest. I insert it here as it has been imperfectly communicated in the public journals.

"In the presence of God and man I here so-

"lemnly protest against the violence done to "me; against the violation of my most sacred "rights; my person and liberty being subject- "ed to force. I came voluntarily on board "the *Bellerophon*; I am not the prisoner of "England, I am England's guest.

"I came on the invitation of the Captain "himself. He told me he had commands "from the government to receive me, and to "convey me and my retinue to England, "should this be agreeable to me. Relying on "this assurance I accepted the offer, that I "might place myself under the protection of "England.

"From the moment I entered the *Bellero-* "*phon*, I was under the hospitality of Britain. "If the government, in issuing orders to the "Captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me "and my retinue, meant to ensnare me, it "has acted contrary to honour, and degraded "its flag.

"If this deed shall be completed, in vain have "the English spoken to Europe of their sin- "cerity, their laws, and their liberties. The "confidence in British sincerity is annihilated "by the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*.

"I appeal to history. It will say: an ene- "my who for twenty years made war against "the English people, in his misfortune volun- "tarily came to seek an asylum under their "laws. What more splendid proof could he "have given them of his esteem and his con- "fidence? But what return was made to such "magnanimity in England? They affected to "stretch forth a hospitable hand towards him, "and when he gave himself up to them in full "confidence, they sacrificed him.

"*On board the Bellerophon at Sea,*
4th August 1815.

"(Signed) NAPOLEON."

This is a true translation of this memorable document, drawn up in English, which deserves to be transmitted to posterity.

With respect to us, full of bitterness of heart and disgust at such transactions, we exclaimed: "What a deceitful and malicious trick! Are "we no longer among civilized nations? "Where are the rights of nations and public "morality? We call on God to punish such "faithlessness; he is witness to the sincerity "with which we acted, and to the treachery "practised towards us." It would be difficult to paint to you the rage which this contemptuous abuse of power, this employment of falsehood, to take advantage of our innocent credulity, excited in us. Even now, on the bare mention of it to your highness, the blood rushes more rapidly through my veins.

We read in the public journals, that they had made prisoners of us; of us who gave our-

selves up to them so freely, with such magnanimous confidence? It was said, we were under the necessity of surrendering ourselves at discretion; we, who with greatness of soul refused to avail ourselves by land of the chances of war in our favour, and who had it in our power to make the attempt to escape by sea! Could our treatment have been worse had we been reduced to the necessity of yielding to force or superior power? Who can entertain a doubt that we would not have exposed ourselves to every danger, have tried every chance of fortune, and even have rushed on certain death, had we had the least suspicion of the fate that was destined us? The letter of the Emperor to the Prince Regent, places the intentions of both, and the confidence, which was so much abused, beyond a doubt. The English captain to whom it was communicated before it was sent off, had silently approved its contents, and had nothing to object to it. We were afterwards told that the proceedings with respect to the Emperor Na-

poleon, and his treatment were not exclusively the work of England; that the whole took place in consequence of an agreement between the four great allied powers. But the British ministers are grievously mistaken if they think they can in this manner efface the stigma which they have fixed on their nation. For to a pretence of this sort they will receive for answer: "Either you had entered into this agreement before the celebrated victim came into your hands, and you acted unworthily in laying a trap to get him into your power; or you concluded the agreement after he was in your power; and in that case you have committed the crime of sacrificing the honour of your country, and the sacredness of your laws to foreign views; a crime which you were not bound to commit."

What evils do not these monstrous breaches of promise prepare for wretched Europe! How many passions will not thereby be again excited? Who does not perceive in these mea-

sures, as arbitrary as they are tyrannical, in this contempt of all laws with respect to the Emperor Napoleon, a widely extended re-action of political doctrines? It is the triumph of kings over the claims of the people. The storm was allayed; it is again raised. In vain they repeat, the revolution was extinguished in the overthrow of Napoleon. Singular infatuation! They forgot that it was he who guided it to its object, and they wish to allow it to begin again and return on us. The nations of Europe are in a state of greater fermentation than ever.

The instructions of the English ministers directed the title of General to be given to the Emperor, and prohibited every species of particular attention, and every demonstration of respect not usually paid to a mere General. The Emperor might have been proud of this title; it had gained him immortality; but under the present circumstances it was given with a view to

insult him. We could not believe that it belonged to the English ministry to change at will the order of things in Europe; that they possessed the power of annihilating at pleasure a title and name of a quality, which had been created by the will of a great nation, consecrated by religion, sanctioned by victory, and acknowledged by all manner of treaties with the consent of the whole continent. Hence we were from that moment fixed in our determination to continue to give the title of Emperor to him, who some days before had himself made choice of the title of Colonel.

Our passage of two months was in other respects, fortunate, uniform, and tranquil. The vessel, like every other point of the British dominion, was filled with all manner of pamphlets and libels respecting the person, character, features, figure, habits, manner of living, and actions of the Emperor. He fell here into the midst of all the prejudices which incessant

defamation had naturally excited against him; and to the attentive observer it was a spectacle of a higher kind than the mere gratification of curiosity, to observe the clouds of falsehood disperse before the splendour of truth, and the horizon assume quite different colours. They could not comprehend his tranquillity; they were quite astonished at his cheerfulness. They admired the extent of his knowledge, and more especially the equanimity of his disposition. When we took leave of each other, a confession escaped from one, who during the voyage had had most opportunities of witnessing his behaviour, that he had never once surprised him in a dissatisfied humour, or seen him desirous of obtaining any thing.

The Emperor passed the whole of the morning in his small apartment. About five o'clock he entered the dining-room when he played at chess before sitting down to dinner. During dinner he spoke little and seldom.

You know, that the Emperor used never to pass more than eighteen or twenty minutes at table. Here the dinner lasted two hours. This was a punishment for him, which he could not support. They brought him therefore, at the end of an hour, coffee, and he then rose to walk on deck. The Grand Marshal, General Bertrand, and myself, usually followed him. This was the only time in which he was to be seen in public. He used then to send for the officer on duty and some other persons, as the surgeon or the commissioner, and make inquiries of them respecting matters in their department. During the first day, the crew displayed a great curiosity; but in a little time it was sympathy alone that drew people towards him. If any manœuvre was to take place which might create a movement or confusion on deck, the younger part of the crew would hasten towards him with looks of kind anxiety and form a circle around him, with the view of protecting him from any ac-

cident. The Emperor withdrew at an early hour to his apartment. This was his manner of passing the day.

On arriving at St. Helena, after lying two or three days at anchor, we were landed by night at James-Town. This is a sort of colonial village or hamlet, consisting of several houses, among which some are of considerable size and commodiously fitted up for travellers, as the East India fleet visits this place every year.

At an early hour next morning the Emperor was accompanied by the Admiral to the interior of the island, to view the residence which was destined for him. This residence was in a condition that rendered repairs indispensably necessary, which could not be completed in a few days. The Emperor was therefore obliged to return to James-Town, where a suffocating heat prevailed highly prejudi-

cial to health, without including other still greater inconveniencies; this induced him to fix his residence three or four miles from the town. The same evening he sent for me, but the want of room in the house would not admit of the reception of a third person. It was a sort of summer house about fifty steps distant from the residence of the proprietor, and consisted of a single apartment of a few square feet on the ground floor.

The Emperor ordered his camp-bed to be put up here, and he was obliged to sleep, dress, eat, and walk in the only apartment which he possessed. I slept in a garret-room above him, which was so small that my son and myself could scarcely turn in it. The Emperor's valet-de-chambre slept across his door. The family of the proprietor of the house, who were honourable and well-disposed people, lived at a distance of fifty paces from us, and among them there were two young

girls of from ten to fourteen years of age; these are the ladies who have so often served as subjects of merriment for the journals of late. In the first days after our arrival, Napoleon visited this family several times; but as the hospitality of the landlord was frequently taken advantage of by persons who from motives of curiosity were desirous of seeing the Emperor, he was induced to discontinue his visits. The other officers of his retinue who had remained in the town visited him as often as possible; but misunderstandings and irregularities on the part of the sentinels rendered these visits always highly difficult and disagreeable.

The Emperor was in a very bad state of health, worse than your Highness supposes. At first we were under the necessity of procuring his dinner from the town; afterwards we found means to fit up a kitchen in the house as well as we could; but we were never

able to supply him with a bath, which however was an object of urgent necessity for him. He was obliged to leave the room on its being swept or when the bed was made. We took our walk along the rocky ground, beside the house, or in a neighbouring alley as soon as the sun went down, or the moon lighted our path.

In this manner two months were passed; we were then taken to Longwood, the place we now inhabit; all the intervening time was requisite to complete the most urgent repairs. The whole of the new colony were here with the exception of the Grand Marshal and his wife, who were obliged for want of room to remain behind in a house three miles distant.

Longwood was originally a mere farm of the East India Company; it had been given by the Company to the last deputy-governor, who intended to convert it into a country-seat. The

latest erection was constructed with such haste, that it formed but a very unhealthy residence, and the structure is of so slight a nature that in less than a year it will in all probability be uninhabitable.

The Emperor is very uncomfortably lodged here, and we are almost constantly obliged to bivouac. To enable you to form some idea of the matter, I subjoin a sketch of our residence which my son drew for his mother. Do not, therefore, give any belief to the reports of a fine palace of wood, with the description of which all the English papers were filled. The pomp is for Europe, but wretchedness prevails at St. Helena. Some time ago indeed a considerable number of rough boards arrived here; but as it was calculated that it would require from eight or ten years to prepare them, that we should be obliged to pass the whole of that time among workmen, and that the expense would be enormous, the

plan was given up, and the planks are now left to rot on the place where they were landed.

There is by no means however any want of houses on the island preferable to that of Longwood. Plantation-House especially, the habitation of the Governor, is a building executed in the European taste, with a noble garden, and shady alleys; it is furnished with every convenience that can be expected here. This would be a much more suitable residence for the Emperor, and considerable expenses might be thereby saved. But the removal of a governor from his residence for the sake of the celebrated exile, would have been a measure indicative of a respect such as we are assured the English ministry will not allow to be shewn to him.

The external environs of Longwood are indeed wretched in the extreme; no plant will thrive here, except on the application of a care

which greatly exceeds our powers; in a word, it is the desart of the island; nature has here set herself in direct opposition to every settlement and every kind of cultivation of the ground. There is a great want of water; shade is no where to be found; nothing is to be seen but heath, a few bushes, and the gum-tree, which is of inconsiderable size, has no leaves and affords no shade; and we are besides engaged in constant war, in the true sense of the word, with armies of rats and mice.

But the traveller who after a long voyage lands here, whose eye wearied with the dull sameness of the waves, is disposed to admire the first ground he sets foot on; and who on a fine day clambers up to our plain, lost in astonishment at the frightful masses of rock which surround him, the terrible abysses at his feet, and the smiling appearance of the wild green in the gullets and crevices of the rocks, involuntarily exclaims, "O how beau-

" tiful !" This language we have often, alas ! been obliged to hear ; but for him whom fate has condemned to dwell here, it is indeed a most miserable and melancholy place. It is the same thing with the climate, which mere visitors however speak of as highly agreeable and healthy. Under a devouring tropical sun the horizon of this island is for the most part covered with clouds, and Longwood is constantly exposed to frequent waterspouts ; when therefore the sun appears, we are almost burnt up with heat, and when it is hid we are always immersed in an abominable humidity ; we suffer almost at the same time from heat and cold, a vicissitude by which the health of man must necessarily be undermined. As there is no change of seasons, this produces a uniformity by which the imagination, the mind and the body are all affected ; it is difficult to paint the relaxation and the weariness to which it gives rise. This evil is renewed every day and every moment, it is a physical torment which com-

bined with the moral to which the Emperor is incessantly subjected, made him on receiving the news of Murat's melancholy fate, exclaim, "the Calabrese have shewn themselves less "barbarous, they have shewn themselves more "magnanimous than the people of Plymouth."

On arriving at Longwood the Emperor endeavoured to take exercise on horseback; the extraordinary activity of his early life rendered every interruption of it dangerous for him, and you know perhaps already that Corvisart recommended this species of exercise to him by way of preventive of a disease with which he is threatened. The boundaries within which we could range, without being superintended by strangers, were pretty limited. The Emperor it is well known is accustomed to long and violent riding: but here the limited space, the uniformity of the place, the constant unvaried path, which gave his rides in some measure the appearance of a *manege* lesson, filled

him with disgust, and he was soon induced to renounce that pleasure altogether; and neither our exhortations nor our urgent entreaties could ever afterwards induce him to alter his resolution. "It is impossible for me," he would say, "to turn myself in so confined a circle; when "I have a horse under me I feel a constant "desire to give it the rein; and this is a desire "which I cannot gratify here; it is a torture "which I cannot bear." The island is from twenty-five to thirty miles in circumference. The Emperor was allowed to ride over every part of it under the superintendence of an English officer, but this is a constraint to which he could never subject himself.

Neither the difference in the colour of the cloth, nor his being surrounded by men of a different nation is an annoyance to the Emperor; "for," says he, "whoever has received "the baptism of fire, is, in my eyes, of the "same religion:" but he never wished to go

into the open air except for recreation; on such an occasion he might have been desirous of opening his heart to us without reserve, but the presence of a stranger would have rendered this impossible; he might have been disposed for a moment to forget his unfortunate situation, but the presence of his gaoler would have perpetually recalled it to his remembrance. "Every thing in human life," he said, "is subject to calculation, and evil "and good must be balanced; the good "which would accrue to my body is by no "means equal to the injury which my mind "must thereby necessarily suffer."

One day Admiral Cockburn, with much courtesy, expressed a willingness to allow greater liberty to the Emperor when he rode out; but this was but for a single day, for the following morning, whether he repented of what he had done, or had some other reason,

it was pretended that there had been a misunderstanding, and so the matter was dropt.

The principal occupation of the Emperor consists in reading in his apartment, or in dictating to one of us the chief events of his life. The time spent in St. Helena will not be altogether lost for history and the glory of France. The campaigns of Italy and Egypt are already written; this is a work worthy of the great subject of it; it belonged to him who performed these wonders to describe them.

The Emperor has acquired the English language, and to me the fame is due of having instructed him in it; in less than thirty lessons he was able to understand the English journals; he now reads already every English work.

All objects belonging to the animal king-

dom here are of the most wretched quality, or altogether wanting; they are in the first place bad, because under this degree of latitude they cannot be good, and in the next place because our maintenance has been farmed out without our having any influence or controul over it. We have never been able to succeed in obtaining the delivery of cattle in a live state, for reasons which may easily be conceived; neither could we succeed in obtaining a supply of provisions for a longer period than from one day to another; we have frequently therefore been under the necessity of postponing our dinner hour from the provisions not having arrived, and we have also frequently found ourselves quite destitute of food and drink, from the portion for one day being consumed and the supply for the next not having arrived. Butcher's meat is detestable here; the bread is not to be compared with the French, and the wine is frequently not drinkable. The oil, with respect to which the Emperor is very particu-

lar, he having a remarkable fondness for it, cannot be used in its natural state; it has indeed been found impossible to obtain a beverage anything like moderately good, which the Emperor could drink with any degree of pleasure. Napoleon who for so long a period had been accustomed to the very best of every thing, never utters a complaint on the subject; he would be satisfied with the ration of a common soldier; but still he suffers from it; and we who accompany him suffer still more on his account. Who would suppose it possible that the incessant care which we take to add to the comforts of the Emperor in these small matters, should meet with opposition from the authorities placed over us?

The monotony of the Emperor's life is never interrupted by strangers; he receives no person, or hardly any person; the new Governor has placed obstacles in the way of visits nearly equal to a prohibition. Travellers used to

express the most ardent wishes to be introduced to the Emperor, and nothing was more common with us than to read five months afterwards in the English journals, the most distorted accounts of what took place, even under the real names of those who had expressed to us, in the most unambiguous terms, their fervent thanks for the favour shewn to them. Once for all, give no credit to these journals, and the silly and insipid trash in them. When we happen to see anecdotes of this description they excite only our smiles; but the English about us are loud in their expressions of displeasure; they complain that the letters sent by them to England have been completely disfigured, and they endeavour to prove to us that not one of them could have written such absurd nonsense; that these accounts have either been fabricated in London, or drawn up from the conversation of servants on board of vessels which have touched at St. Helena.

Your exalted brother remains the same under all circumstances, and we who have enjoyed the felicity of living with him have daily opportunities of convincing ourselves of the truth of what has been called in question in the common proverb, namely, that a great man may remain great and even appear still greater in the eyes of those who see him undressed, and who do not quit his bedside night or day.

The Emperor sleeps very little; he goes early to bed, and as he knows that I am also a bad sleeper, he frequently sends for me to bear him company till he falls asleep; he wakes pretty regularly about three o'clock, when a light is brought him, and he works till six or seven; he then lays himself down again to endeavour to sleep a second time; about nine o'clock breakfast is served to him on a small round table, a sort of gueridon beside his

couch; here he frequently sends for one of us; he then reads, works or slumbers during the oppressive heat of the day; he afterwards dictates to us. For a long time he used about four o'clock in the afternoon to take us all out with him in the *caleche*, but at last he got tired of this, as he before did of riding; he now continues to walk till the humidity of the air compels him to return to the house. If he remains out after four o'clock in the open air, he is certain of being seized in the evening with rheumatic pains in the head, a pretty severe cough, and violent toothache. On his return he dictates till about eight o'clock; he then repairs to the dining-room, and plays a game at chess before dinner. During the dessert, when the servants have withdrawn, he usually reads to us some passages from our best poets or from some other books of importance. These are the most minute details of the manner in which the Emperor at present lives; he would esteem himself happy in his

distance from the rest of the world, were it permitted him amidst our pious and careful attentions, forgotten by men, to live for a few hours only free from suffering; but since the arrival of the new Governor, neither a day, nor an hour, nor a moment passes in which he does not receive fresh wounds; a sting may be said to be in constant operation to tear open the wounds, the pain of which a short slumber might have somewhat deadened.

On our arrival at the colony our situation was indeed very wretched, but we had been precipitated from such a height, that even if we had been well treated, nothing but complaints could possibly have been heard from us. The noble minded English beside us, as well as those who merely visited the island, appreciated our situation very correctly, and continually repeated to us, either with the mere view of consoling us, or from internal conviction: "Your present situation is merely

" provisional; it cannot possibly continue
" long; political causes have rendered it ne-
" cessary," this they believed, " to secure
" your persons; but the law of nature, gene-
" rosity, and honour, all equally demand that
" every thing which can possibly contribute
" to alleviate the evils of your situation, should
" be allowed you. The most difficult part of
" the work is completed; the coasts are sur-
" rounded with vessels; the shore is guarded
" by soldiers; signals may every moment be
" given in the interior of the island; all mea-
" sures of security are terminated; measures of
" mildness will now succeed; a Lieutenant
" General is sent out to you as a Governor,
" who has passed his life on the Continent, at
" head-quarters, or at the court of the sove-
" reign, where he will have learned what is
" due to Napoleon. This situation must be
" consolatory to you; a person of distinction
" worthy of his high mission has been des-
" tined for you; a person who to greatness of

" soul unites those refined manners, which " are so necessary in his particular situation; " only have a little patience, and all will soon " be regulated in the best possible manner."

This new Messias at length came; but, gracious God! the word escapes involuntarily from my pen; it was an executioner, a *gens-d'arme* whom they had sent. On his appearance every thing assumed a dark and gloomy aspect; every appearance of external respect, and all the forms prescribed by a due regard to decency, which had hitherto been observed, at once disappeared; every day since has been to us a day of greater pain and more insulting treatment; he has narrowed still farther the boundaries prescribed to us, and even endeavoured to interfere with our domestic economy; he has strictly interdicted all intercourse with the natives, and even prohibited all society with officers of his own nation; he has ordered our residence to be surrounded with ditches

and palisades; he has increased the number of soldiers, and endeavoured to make prisons within prisons; he has surrounded us with objects of affright, and reduced us to close custody. The Emperor remains almost always in his prison, and no longer leaves his apartment. The few audiences which he has given to that officer, have been highly disagreeable and oppressive to him; he has put an end to them and determined not to see the Governor any more. "I had just grounds," he observed, "to complain of the Admiral, though he "had at least a heart; but this man has not "even a vestige of the character of an Eng-"lishman, he is nothing but a low Sicilian "*sbirro*."

Sir Hudson Lowe pleads the instructions of his Minister in justification of himself, with respect to all these complaints; if this justification is well founded, his instructions are most barbarous; but we can bear witness at

the same time, that he endeavours to carry them into execution in a barbarous manner.

The Emperor cannot possibly long survive this sort of treatment; in this all the medical men are agreed.* What will history say one day on this subject! Sir Hudson Lowe himself acknowledges that Napoleon's life is in danger, but he coolly adds: he is not to blame, but the Emperor himself, who will not have things otherwise. His last interview with Napoleon was animated and highly remarkable; under the pretext of having an important disclosure to make, the Governor succeeded in persuading the Emperor to walk out with him. The communication which he made to him on this occasion was, that the annual charges

* The physician of the Emperor is Doctor O'Meara, surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, a modest and virtuous man, who solicited permission to connect himself with our destiny. He will find in the public estimation the merited reward of his noble sacrifice.

of the Emperor's establishment amounted to £20,000 sterling, whereas the Governor could only allow £8,000 sterling, and he therefore proposed that Napoleon should pay over to him the balance, amounting to £12,000. Hurt at the proposition, the Emperor requested to be spared the necessity of hearing such things. But when Sir Hudson Lowe persisted in speaking to him on the subject, the Emperor irritated at his conduct, told him, "not to oppress him with such unbecoming "details, and to leave him in peace, as he de- "manded nothing from him; if he should "feel hunger, he would place himself at the "table of those brave men (here he pointed "with his hand to the camp of the 53d Eng- "lish regiment), certainly they would not "drive from them the oldest soldier of Eu- "rope." The consequence of this interview however, was, that the Emperor was compelled to dispose of his silver plate that he might procure for himself the most indispensible neces-

saries from month to month. Your Highness would have been most powerfully affected, could you have witnessed the distress and tears of the servants at this most unexpected occurrence.

Your Highness knows how much the Emperor has been accustomed to abundance, but at the same time how well he knows how to appreciate every thing of this nature at its true worth; this sort of behaviour has indeed irritated him, but he never complains. But the idea that they should by fraud get this great man into their power; that they should forcibly take possession of his property and his income; that they should next stipulate with the other parties concerned in the most distinct terms, to take upon themselves the whole of the expense, that they might thereby have the exclusive disposal of his person; that they should then attempt to enter into a negociation with him on the subject of his own maintenance,

and even call on him to defray the expense of the most indispensible necessaries out of his own means, is altogether something so shocking, that it is hardly possible to find expressions to do justice to the feelings which it is calculated to excite.

All sorts of commodities here, notwithstanding their wretched quality, are sold at a most extravagant price. I am not exaggerating, when I affirm, that we pay six or seven times as much for every thing as we should do in Italy; and hence you may easily calculate how far the £8,000 sterling granted by the English ministry will go. I can assure your Highness that our landholders with incomes of from fifteen to eighteen thousand livres, are better lodged, have better furniture, and enjoy better fare than the Emperor.

As your Highness is now acquainted with our evils, you will perhaps suppose, that irri-

tated by our sufferings, and the unhappy relations in which we are placed, day after day nothing is heard from us but complaints and lamentations; this would no doubt be highly excusable; but the excess of our sufferings has by no means rendered us so unjust as not to perceive, and gratefully to acknowledge the sympathy and the kindness which several of the inhabitants, and a great number of the officers have shewn to us. The openness and honesty of Admiral Malcolm in particular, deserve to be mentioned in high terms of praise; our irritability in our misery, as well as the peculiarity of his official situation, have alone prevented us from giving expression to the feelings which he and Lady Malcolm, for whose character we have the most cordial regard, have excited in our breasts.

One day this Admiral in a conversation with us, happened accidentally to discover that we had no shade, and that we had it in contempla-

tion to procure a tent for the Emperor under which he might occasionally pass the day. Not long after this conversation the Emperor was enabled to take his breakfast in a spacious tent rapidly constructed out of the sails of the frigate. This was a piece of European politeness which was here quite unexpected by us, and it could not fail therefore, to produce on us a deep impression. The Emperor has often used, and still uses this tent, but not always without interruption. How often on the approach of a troublesome enemy has he been obliged to break off in the middle of his conversation or dictation! He would then say, "let us return to our hut; they grudge me "even the fresh air which I here breathe."

Every thing, even down to the most petty details, betrays the personal character and disposition of our gaoler; he puts into our hands the journals in which we are harshly treated, and keeps from us those in which we are

spoken of in less hostile terms; he retains the works which are favorable to us, under the pretext that they did not come through the hands of the ministry, and he displays the utmost zeal in furnishing us with every libel against us from his own private library.

But the principal object towards which Sir Hudson Lowe's attention is directed, is the prevention of all information respecting us, excepting his own, from reaching Europe; he is constantly alarmed and jealous least any of our statements should also escape from the island. With this view he allows no strangers to approach us, and he considers it a crime in us to communicate the details of our treatment. He even lately went so far as to inform me, that if I continued to write to my friends in Europe in the tone I had hitherto used, he would remove me from the presence of the Emperor, and send me from St. Helena. I wrote nothing but the truth; I could not pos-

sibly state that we were happy and well treated. Sir Hudson Lowe distrusts, as it would seem, his own ministers, who receive my letters to read after him; for it remains with them to suppress the letters as soon as they have read them, if they think proper. I did not, however, wish to be told this a second time; I shall take care not to write any more to my family, and I am therefore from this time forward quite dead in so far as regards them. It was intended at first, that you should receive the present report through the hands of the Governor; but I am now compelled to wait for some secret mode of conveyance. Your Highness will be thereby a gainer, for in all probability the report would not otherwise have reached you. Sooner or later such secret means will occur; some traveller possessed of magnanimity and a love of truth will undertake the charge of this letter, of which the contents are remote from all politics, but of importance for the honor of England, and in

so doing he will believe that he is only discharging the duty of an honorable man and a good citizen.

Sir Hudson Lowe exaggerates no doubt, and twists every thing which has any relation to us; it was merely wished to secure our persons, but he imagines that he is bound to imprison us; it was wished to separate us from the political world; but he considers it his duty to bury us alive; it was thought expedient to subject our correspondence to examination, to guard against the existence of conspiracy; but he conceives he ought to precipitate us into complete oblivion, and annihilate as it were our very existence. If the secret instructions of the Governor render it necessary for him to act in this manner, then the ministry depart from the language held by themselves in Parliament; they are at variance with the public opinion of their country, and the wishes of all the generous inhabitants of

Europe, however different their opinions in other respects may be; they load their administration with an odium without an object. The truth will one day come to light, and people will then indignantly ask; "what had "treatment of this nature to do with the se- "curity of the prisoner?" If, on the other hand, all this is merely the result of an excessive and officious zeal on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe, it throws a bad light on his heart, lowers his character and disgraces his memory.

However this may be, it is certain that we are sighing here continually, notwithstanding the sense and the express words of the English laws, under the tyranny and arbitrary conduct of a single man; a man who for twenty years has been solely employed in placing the criminals and deserters of Italy in English regiments, and preserving discipline among them; a man, whose heart is hardened, and whose imagination is in a state of continual alarm,

and know no bounds for his apprehensions and precautionary measures.

This dreadful state is the fatal result of our present residence at the extremity of the globe, in the midst of the wilderness of the ocean. How long is our punishment to continue? When will the truth at length find its way to the English people? when will they succeed in putting an end to those excesses by which they are disgraced?

Are we to perish without assistance on this horrid rock? We occasion great expense to the mother country, and are the ruin of this miserable colony at the same time; the people of the island curse our residence, and we wish it had never existed; and then the question occurs, what is the object of all this? The Emperor observed jocularly some days ago; "we shall soon neither be worth the money

" which we cost, nor the pains which are " taken with us." Why should not the ministry allow us to return? Our return would attest their strength and the firmness of their character. People would then believe that our temporary banishment was enjoined by policy merely, and not at all the work of hatred; the ministry would thereby effect a considerable saving and acquire to themselves true renown.

The Emperor never ceases to entertain for the present and the future, the same wishes as when he voluntarily and without distrust repaired on board the *Bellerophon*; his political career is terminated, repose under the protection of positive laws, is all that he now desires, all that he wishes. The shattered state of his health; bodily infirmities which already begin to shew themselves; the progress of years; a certain distaste for all human things, and indeed for mankind in general, render

that repose more desirable and more necessary to him than ever.

As to us who attend the Emperor, however unjust the imprisonment which we suffer may be, yet any dungeon on English ground would be a real benefit to us. Freed from the arbitrary controul of a subordinate agent, the hand of a protecting power would then be extended over us; we should again breathe the air of Europe; and, though we might sink at last under our miseries, yet still our bones would rest in Christian ground.

The commissioners of the allied powers landed here some months ago. Sir Hudson Lowe gave them to understand that their mission was merely passive; that with respect to us they had neither full powers nor even a power of mediation; on this he sent the treaty of the 2d August to Longwood, and demanded that the commissioners should be admitted. The

Emperor refused to acknowledge their public character and political capacity, but had no objection to receive their visits as mere private individuals. He caused to be transmitted through M. de Montholon to Sir Hudson Lowe a thundering official answer on the subject, full of sound sense and elevated ideas; it is to be hoped that it will in time find its way to your Highness, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of Sir Hudson Lowe to keep it secret. It is hardly possible to form an idea of the uneasiness of Sir Hudson Lowe in this respect; I have already been obliged to endure personal reproaches on that account.

The Emperor speaks very frequently of all of you; of most of you he has portraits hung up in his room; his dwelling has become a little family sanctuary. He has received letters from you, from Madame, from Cardinal Fesch, and the Princess Pauline; it was ex-

tremely painful to him to think that the expressions of love and tenderness contained in these letters should have been read by all the agents by whom we are guarded; he would rather receive no more letters, than receive them on these terms. On his part through the means of the Prince Regent of Great Britain, he wished to write to his family; but he was given to understand that his letter could only be sent off unsealed, and that were he to seal it, the seal must be broken. In these circumstances the Emperor deems it advisable to renounce letter-writing.

I have several times in the present report made mention of the sufferings which we who accompanied Napoleon have to support; but we are insensible to all our sufferings, when we are allowed the happiness of showing our attachment to the Emperor; in him alone we feel our privations; our personal afflictions elevate

us to the ranks and fill us with the joy of martyrs; we live eternally in the hearts of all noble men; thousands without doubt envy our situation; we are proud of it, and it makes us happy.

Longwood, at St. Helena,
September 1816.

MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT DE LAS CASAS.

PART III.

LETTER

ADDRESSED

FROM FRANKFORT ON THE MAINE

TO

LORD BATHURST,

BY

THE COUNT DE LAS CASAS.

THE following Document would never have been communicated to the world at large, if a wicked and intentional misrepresentation of the truth, and calumnies injurious to the honour of Count Las Casas, had not been publicly uttered in the British Parliament, on the 14th May 1818.—For six months nearly, the manuscript remained in the desk of the Author, concealed from every eye; but he has been compelled to break his silence.—The Letter appears now, for the *first time*, in print; and it is for the Public to decide between the English Ministry and Count de Las Casas.

Notice by the Editor.

WHEN the persecutions suffered by Count de Las Casas, the companion in misfortune of Napoleon at St. Helena, were discussed in the House of Commons of England on the 14th May 1818, statements and complaints so excessively ridiculous were attributed to him, that they seem to have been invented for the sole purpose of furnishing the English Ministry with the means of meeting them with an easy and a victorious refutation.

In the course of the discussion, one of those subaltern and obscure members who form a part of the Administration for their complacency and their services to Ministers, of the name of *GOULBURN*, with the intention no doubt of being useful and agreeable to his

immediate superior, did not hesitate to add insult to the violation of truth. For want of the flowers of imagination, he no doubt found it quite easy to have recourse to libel and calumny. Confirming the absurd rumours which were imputed to the victim, he had the effrontery to say, " that these rumours did " not surprise him; that the personage in " question possessed the art of giving a " double meaning to his words; and that, " after all, his punishment was trivial, com- " pared with his fault." Assuredly if the respectable, the indulgent, the good Mr. Goulburn does not think the persecutions suffered by him sufficient for the fault which he mentions, but which he does not prove, it is not easy to satisfy him. As to his other observations, the charge of bad faith and insincerity attaches to him with the more justice, that it was precisely through his hands that all the correspondence to which he alludes actually passed.

This circumstance has caused the following letter to be addressed to us, with a request to publish it. It will be undoubtedly thought that the assertions of the respectable Mr. Goulburn rendered such a measure indispensable. This letter will shew; first, the nature of the fault with which they wish to reproach him who is the author of it; secondly, it will contain the exact recital of his complaints; thirdly, it will enable every one to judge if its style is susceptible of a double meaning.

If this publication is in any respects disagreeable to the noble Minister to whom this letter was addressed, he has his faithful and veridical agent alone to blame for it; for—and this is the only observation which we shall take the liberty of making in favour of him who wrote it—we wish to remark that this letter is dated more than six months back; that it remained secret, and that up to the present day, its author, whatever might be

the force and justice of his complaints, has not uttered a single word in public against his persecutors, and that it is probable he would still have preserved silence, if violence had not been offered to his moderation.

On my Arrival at Frankfort,
December, 1817.

MY LORD,

WERE I to take no notice of the arbitrary and tyrannical acts, the infraction of laws, the contempt of forms, the violation of principles, of which I have been the victim for more than a year, during which I remained in the hands of your agents, my silence might be construed into a tacit acquiescence that would render me guilty, towards myself, towards

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A mon arrivée à Francfort,
Décembre 1817.

MYLORD !

SI je supportois sans rien dire les actes arbitraires et tyranniques, l'infraction des loix, le mépris des formes, la violation des principes, dont je suis la victime depuis plus d'un an que je me trouve entre les mains de vos agents, mon silence pourroit être pris pour un acquiescement tacite qui me rendroit coupable, envers moi-même, envers vous, envers la

you, and towards society in general; towards myself who have great reparations to demand; towards you who are perhaps ignorant of my wrongs and will hasten to afford me redress; towards society, in justice to which every honourable man is bound to resist inflexibly every abuse of power, for the honour of the laws and the security of those who are to succeed him.

If I am so long, my Lord, in addressing to you my complaints, you have yourself alone to blame, the persecution which I have

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société toute entière. Envers moi-même, qui ai de grands redressements à prétendre, envers vous, qui peut-être les ignorez et vous empresserez de les accorder, envers la société entière, en faveur de laquelle tout homme de bien doit se montrer intraitable sur les écarts du pouvoir, pour l'honneur des loix, et la sécurité de ceux qui viennent après lui.

Mylord, si je suis si tard à vous adresser mes griefs, n'en accusez que vous-même, la persécution

experienced on your coast, and that which you have excited against me in the neighbouring countries; it would even seem that a new punishment has been invented for me, namely, that of deportation on the highways. I have been dragged along from town to town like a malefactor, and notwithstanding I was at the point of death, no repose was allowed me, though no motive could be alleged for such treatment. How then could I write to you?

If I here apply to your Lordship personally whatever concerns me, it is because the acts

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que j'ai rencontrée sur vos rivages, et celles dont vous avez donné l'impulsion chez les pays voisins; il sembleroit qu'on a inventé pour moi un supplice nouveau: la déportation sur les grands chemins. Je me suis vu colporté de ville en ville comme un malfaiteur, et bien que moribond, sans qu'on pût m'en donner aucun motif, ni qu'on voulût m'accorder aucun répos. Comment vous écrire?

Si j'adresse ici personnellement à votre Seigneurie tout ce qui me concerne, c'est que c'est dans votre

of which I have to complain originated in your department and under your name; because in your department and under your name they were continued, and because if other hands have since weighed on me. it was your Lordship that subjected me to their blows; it was your suggestions that dictated the treatment which I have received.

I am one of the four, my Lord, to whom your orders reduced the great number of those who aspired to the honour and the glory of following the illustrious victim of the terrible

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département et en votre nom qu'ont commencé les actes dont j'ai à me plaindre; que c'est dans votre département et en votre nom qu'ils ont continué, et que si depuis d'autres mains ont pesé sur moi, c'est V. S. qui m'a placé sous leurs coups; ce sont ses suggestions qui ont dicté le traitement que j'ai reçu.

Mylord, je suis un des quatre, auxquels vos ordres reduisirent à Plymouth le grand nombre de ceux, qui recherchoient le bonheur et la gloire de suivre l'il-

hospitality of the *Bellerophon*; I discharged to the best of my ability at Longwood my religious and holy vocation. I there devoted all the faculties of my heart and soul to sweeten the most severe of all captivities, when I was suddenly removed by the governor of St. Helena. He was authorized perhaps in removing me; I had infringed his regulations; I was only however guilty of having availed myself of the right of every captive, that of deceiving, without scruple, the vigilance of his gaoler; for between us nothing had been left to delicacy, confidence, or honour; but

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lustre victime de la terrible hospitalité du Bellérophon; je remplissois de mon mieux à Longwood ma religieuse et sainte occupation, j'y dévouois toutes les facultés de mon cœur et de mon ame aux adoucissements de la captivité la plus dure qui fut jamais, quand je m'en suis vu soudainement enlevé par le Gouverneur de St. Hélène. Il étoit dans ses droits peut-être, j'avois enfreint ses règlements; je n'étois coupable, du reste, que d'avoir usé du droit de tout captif, celui de déjouer sans scrupule la surveillance de son geolier; car il n'avoit été rien laissé entre nous à la délicatesse, à la confiance,

I did not complain of this proceeding adopted towards me. I suffered only in that which was calculated to wound unnecessarily him from whom I was separated; it was almost at his side, almost under his eyes, that I was seized; it was this which induced him to write what you will have read, that on viewing me from his window dragged into the plain, amidst the number of waving plumes and horses which pranced around me, he imagined he saw so many South Sea savages dancing in their ferocious joy round the victim they were about to devour.

à l'honneur; je ne me suis point plaint de l'acte exercé envers moi. Je n'ai souffert que dans ce qui a pu heurter gratuitement celui duquel on me séparoit; c'est presque à ses côtés, presque sous ses yeux, qu'on m'a saisi; ce qui lui a fait écrire, ainsi que vous l'aurez lu, qu'en me voyant de sa fenêtre entraîné dans la plaine, au milieu de nombreux panaches flottans et de chevaux qui caracoloient autour de moi, il avoit eu l'idée des sauvages de la mer du Sud qui dans leur joie féroce dansent autour de la victime qu'ils vont dévorer.

It was not unreasonable in me, my Lord, to believe that the cause of my apprehension, namely, the secret papers confided to my servant and solicited by himself, was merely the result of a snare laid for me. The Governor himself acknowledged to me, that appearances might justify my suspicions; but he gave me his word of honour that these suspicions were unfounded; and I believed him. These secret papers however were at first destined to pass through his own hands; they would have been sent to him, had he not a short time before told me that if I con-

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Mylord, il a pu m'être permis de croire que la cause de mon événement, les pièces secrètes confiées à mon domestique et sollicitées par lui-même, n'étoient que le résultat d'un piège qui m'auroit été tendu. Le Gouverneur lui-même est demeuré d'accord avec moi, que les apparences pouvoient justifier ma pensée, mais il m'a donné sa parole d'honneur qu'il y étoit étranger et je l'ai cru. Ces pièces secrètes du reste étoient destinées dans le principe à passer précisément par ses mains; elles lui eussent été adressées, si peu de tems auparavant il ne

tinued to write in the same style he should be induced to remove me from him to whom I devoted myself. This is so true, and the papers are in themselves of so little importance, that it has never since been thought necessary to allude to them; it has never been thought expedient to connect them with the event to which they gave rise.*

* Unless it were that a minister wished to allude to them in the House of Commons on the 14th May, 1818.

Seeking to justify the persecutions exercised against Count de Las Casas, he said, that he had been surprised in an attempt to establish a correspondence in Europe through the medium of England. But the noble lord merely asserted this, and refused to produce any official documents in proof of it; every one will be enabled to form a proper opinion from this last circumstance.

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m'avoit fait dire que la continuation de mon style le porteroit à m'éloigner de celui auquel je me consacrois. C'est si vrai et les pièces si peu importantes, qu'il n'en a jamais été question depuis; elles sont demeurées tout à fait étrangères à l'événement qu'elles avoient créé.*

* A moins que ce ne soit ce à quoi un ministre a voulu faire allusion dans la chambre des communes le 14 Mai 1818.

Cherchant à justifier les persécutions exercées sur le Cte. de Las Casas il a dit qu'on l'avoit surpris à établir une correspondance en Europe par l'intermédiaire de l'Angleterre. Mais le noble Lord n'a fait que l'affirmer de vive voix et a refusé de produire les documents officiels qui en auroient établi la preuve; chacun pourra fixer son opinion d'après cette dernière circonstance.

My captivity at St. Helena, my Lord, was merely voluntary. You had pronounced in your regulations that it should cease whenever I chose; I therefore signified to Sir Hudson Lowe when I found myself separated from Longwood, that from that instant I withdrew myself from his personal dependence, and that I replaced myself under the protection of the civil and general laws; I told him if I had committed any fault I demanded to be sent by him to my judges; if he thought my papers which I had given him time enough to exa-

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Mylord, ma captivité à St. Hélène n'étoit que volontaire. Vous aviez prononcé dans vos règlements qu'elle cesseroit à mon gré; j'ai donc signifié à Sir H. Lowe dès que je me suis trouvé séparé de Longwood, qu'à compter de cet instant je me retirois de sa dépendance personnelle, et que je me replaçois sous la protection des loix civiles et générales; que si j'avois commis quelque faute, je demandois qu'il m'envoyât à mes juges, que s'il croyoit que mes papiers, que je lui avois donné le tems

mine to be able to understand them, ought of necessity to be laid before ministers, I demanded of him to send them to you, my Lord, and myself along with them; and in order to render this determination the more easy for him, I explained to him the dreadful state of my health, the imminent danger of that of my son, which rendered it necessary to send both of us to a quarter where we could obtain the first assistance of art. I added farther, that I acquiésced beforehand voluntarily and sincerely in all the restrictions how-

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de parcourir assez pour les comprendre, nécessitoient d'être mis sous les yeux des ministres, je demandois qu'ils vous fussent envoyés, Mylord, et moi avec eux; et afin de lui rendre cette détermination plus facile, je lui exposois l'état affreux de ma santé, le danger imminent de celle de mon fils, qui réclamoit de nous envoyer tous deux à la source des premiers secours de l'art; j'ajoutois en outre que j'acquiesçois d'avance, volontairement et de bonne foi, à toutes les restrictions même illégales que

ever illegal, that your Lordship might deem it necessary to impose on me on my arrival in England. Sir Hudson Lowe did not think himself authorised to adopt this course, and after long hesitation, and keeping me in close custody in the island for five or six weeks, he at length removed me to the Cape of Good Hope, according to the letter of his instructions; a measure which he could and which he ought undoubtedly to have carried into execution in a few days. The Governor retained at the same time all those papers of mine which he thought

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votre Seigneurie au besoin jugeroit à propos de m'imposer à mon arrivée en Angleterre. Sir H. Lowe ne crut pas pouvoir prendre ce parti, et après de longues hésitations, et m'avoir tenu captif au secret dans l'isle pendant 5 ou 6 semaines, il finit par me déporter au Cap de Bonne Espérance selon la lettre de ses instructions, mesure qu'il eût pu et eût du sans doute exécuter en peu de jours. Ce Gouverneur a retenu en même tems tous ceux de mes papiers qu'il a jugé convenable, sans me per-

it advisable to keep, without allowing me to affix my seal to them, or only permitting me to do so with the derisory restriction of my express consent, that he might break it in my absence if he thought it advisable, which amounted to a prohibition.

Availing himself of similar subtleties, Sir Hudson Lowe might also allege that I could have returned to Longwood, had I chosen. True it is, that when pressed by my arguments and the delicacy of his position with respect to me, he offered to allow me to re-

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mettre d'y apposer mon sceau, ou ne me l'accordant qu'avec la restriction dérisoire de mon consentement exprès à ce qu'il pût le briser en mon absence s'il le jugeoit à propos, ce qui étoit me l'interdire.

A la faveur de pareilles subtilités Sir H. Lowe pourroit dire aussi peut-être qu'il n'a tenu qu'à moi de revenir à Longwood ; il est très-vrai que pressé par mes arguments et la délicatesse de sa position vis-à-vis de moi il m'a offert d'y retourner, parceque

turn to Longwood, because this extricated him from his embarrassment. But at the very time he made me this offer, he rendered it impossible for me to accept it.—" You have degraded and stigmatised me," said I to him, " in tearing me away under the very eyes of Napoleon; I can no longer be an object of consolation for him; but must rather be an object of injurious and painful recollections; I cannot reappear at Longwood, except at his express desire."—I then demanded I might be allowed to write; I even wrote in order to know

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cela le tiroit d'embarras. Mais en même tems qu'il me l'offroit, il me le rendoit impossible. " Vous " m'avez souillé, flétri," lui disois-je, " en m'arra- " chant sous les yeux même de Napoléon; je ne " pourrois plus être désormais pour lui un objet de " consolation mais bien plutôt d'injurieux et penibles " souvenirs, je ne saurois reparoître à Longwood " que sur son exprès désir:" j'ai demandé d'écrire, j'ai même écrit pour connoître ce désir,

his desire; but Sir Hudson Lowe insisted on dictating the letter himself, or limiting my expressions: this I was bound to resist. His situation between close prisoners, whom he could induce to act separately, as he pleased, gave him also too great advantages. Besides, had I returned, Sir Hudson Lowe would not on that account have consented to restore my papers. Next day he might repeat his unjustifiable and arbitrary conduct towards me, or my unfortunate companions. I should have had the mortification of thinking that I had myself opened a door to it; my return would have

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mais Sir H. Lowe a prétendu dicter lui-même ou limiter mes expressions; j'ai dû m'y refuser. Sa situation entre captifs au secret ,qu'il faisoit agir séparément à son gré étoit aussi par trop avantageuse. D'ailleurs si je retournois, Sir H. Lowe ne consentoit pas davantage à me rendre mes papiers. Le lendemain il pouvoit repéter sur moi ou sur mes malheureux compagnons ses injurieux actes d'autorité; j'avois la douleur d'en avoir ouvert la porte,

given a sanction to this practice; no other course remained for me then, but one which was plunging a dagger into my own heart—to take my departure.

This is I believe, my Lord, the whole extent of my case, as connected with St. Helena; the proofs and details of it are to be found in my correspondence with Sir Hudson Lowe; the whole of which you seized in the Thames, and now retain in your hands, carefully arranged, and put into order by myself.

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mon retour en auroit consacré l'usage; il ne me restoit qu'à me dechirer le cœur : partir.

Voilà, Mylord, je crois, toute la partie de mon affaire relative à St. Hélène; elle se trouve prouvée et développée dans ma correspondance avec Sir H. Lowe, dont vous avez saisi dans la Tamise et tenez en ce moment entre vos mains toutes les pièces soigneusement arrangées et mises en ordre par moi-même.

On arriving, my Lord, at the Cape of Good Hope, I conceived I was placed in a situation much more favourable for my enjoyment of the protection of your laws; having left the fatal island, on which the importance of the subject might serve as a pretext, perhaps, for certain irregularities, I was now at a distance of 500 miles from it, in a tranquil colony, under the full exercise of your noble legislation, justly the subject of so much eulogy. What was my astonishment to find that what Sir H. Lowe durst not do at St. Helena, was an easy matter to Lord Charles Somerset at

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Mylord, arrivée au Cap de Bonne Espérance je me crus bien mieux placé pour jouir de la protection de vos loix; sorti de l'isle fatale, sur laquelle l'importance du sujet pouvoit servir de prétexte peut-être à certains irrégularités je me voyois à 500 lieues plus loin, dans une colonie tranquille, sous le pleine exercice de votre belle législation si justement vantée. Quel fut mon étonnement, ce que Sir H. Lowe n'avoit pas osé faire à St. Hélène, me retenir captif, Lord Charles Somerset le trouva.

the Cape, namely, the detaining me as a prisoner. In vain I made the same demands on him, urged the same reasonings, and offered the same concessions which I had submitted to Sir Hudson Lowe, in order to be sent off to you in Europe; all was useless. He detained me at the Cape, and this was an act of pure caprice and arbitrary power on his part; for Sir H. Lowe was not his superior, and could not therefore issue orders to him. Lord Charles Somerset filled an office which was subject to no controul; a discretionary power was vested in him; he could and he

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très-facile au Cap; j'eus beau lui faire les mêmes demandes, les mêmes raisonnements, offrir les mêmes concessions qu'à Sir H. Lowe pour être envoyé auprès de vous en Europe; tout fut inutile. Il me retint et ce fut l'acte de son caprice et de sa volonté: car Sir H. Lowe n'étoit point son chef, il ne pouvoit lui donner des ordres. Lord Charles Somerset étoit chef suprême, il jouissoit pour son compte d'un pouvoir discrétionnaire, il pouvoit et devoit être une espèce

ought to have been therefore a species of summary judge in my affair; but he constantly refused to hear me, rejected every explanation, and notwithstanding my earnest and urgent representations, contented himself with coolly sending to my natural judges at a distance of 3000 leagues, to learn from them, whether or not he should give orders for my conveyance to England. By this means he instantly subjected me to the most dreadful sentence which any tribunal could have inflicted on me: a banishment and captivity of between seven and eight months, at a distance of 3000 leagues

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de juge sommaire dans mon affaire: il refusa constamment de m'entendre, repoussa tout éclaircissement et malgré mes vives et instantes représentations se contenta d'envoyer froidement demander à 3000 lieues à mes juges naturels, s'il feroit bien de m'envoyer à eux, et par là exécuta dès cet instant sur moi la plus affreuse sentence qu'aucun tribunal eût jamais pu m'infliger: un bannissement et une captivité de 7 à 8 mois à 3000 lieues de ma famille,

from my family, my interests, my country, my relations, and all my affections.

My Lord, according to the sanctity of your laws, and according to the classical principles bequeathed to you by your fathers, Lord Charles Somerset has been guilty towards me of the greatest of crimes; a crime in the eyes of many equal, and from the torments suffered by me, greater in my own eyes than that of homicide itself. I denounce him to you, and I demand justice. There is no Englishman to whom his noble privileges are

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de mes intérêts, de mon pays, de mes proches, de toutes mes affections.

Mylord, d'après la sainteté de vos loix et selon les principes classiques que vous ont légués vos pères, Lord Charles Somerset s'est rendu coupable envers moi du plus grand des crimes; égal aux yeux de bien de gens, et aux miens, par mes tourments éprouvées supérieur à l'homicide même. Je vous le dénonce, et j'en demande justice. Il n'est point d'Anglais à

endeared, who will not here join his voice to mine, and who does not entertain a just idea of the punishment I endured. In vain shall I be told that the Cape is still a colony under a military power, and that its laws are still partly Dutch. Wherever, my Lord, the British name extends, justice and the protection of English law ought to reign. What would be a crime on the Thames, cannot cease to be a crime on a point of Africa where the flag of England waves.

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qui ses beaux privilèges sont chers, qui ne joigne ici sa voix à la mienne et n'ait une juste idée du supplice que j'ai enduré. C'est en vain qu'on se replieroit sur ce que le Cap n'est qu'une colonie sous un pouvoir militaire, et avec des loix encore en partie Hollandaises. Mylord, partout où arrive le nom Britannique, doit régner la justice et la protection des loix Anglaises; ce qui seroit un crime sur la Tamise ne sauroit demeurer une chose simple sur un point de l'Afrique, où flotte le pavillon d'Angleterre.

I was not a prisoner of war, I could only be a prisoner under the laws. To detain me from my judges eight months, is such a denial of justice as would excite horror in England; to punish me without a sentence, is a tyranny in direct variance with your legislation. And what did I ask from Lord Charles Somerset? My liberty? No—I asked merely to be sent prisoner to you, to be subjected to punishment, if punishment should be awarded against me. In my person, whatever reason esteems most sacred, and the heart dwells on with

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Je n'étois point un prisonnier de guerre, je n'ai pu être qu'un prisonnier judiciaire; me tenir 8 mois séparé de mes juges est un déni de justice qui feroit frémir parmi vous; me punir sans jugement, sans sentence est une tyrannie qui révolte votre législation. Et que demandois-je à Lord Charles Somerset? La liberté? Non. Mais de vous être envoyé captif, et pour subir un jugement s'il y avoit lieu. Il s'est fait dans ma personne un jeu de ce que la raison estime le plus sacré, de ce que le cœur a de plus

the fondest attachment; whatever is most dear to man, have been sported with in the most wanton and cruel manner; and what could be his motives? What can be his excuse? He constantly and obstinately refused to afford me any explanation. And here, my Lord, I wish it to be well understood, that my indisposition and grief do not so far blind me, as to render it impossible for me to distinguish in the conduct of Lord Charles Somerset, between the private attentions with which he endeavoured to sweeten my captivity, and the horror of the public act by which he con-

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doux, de ce que l'homme a de plus cher, et quelles pourroient être ses motifs, quelles seroient ses excuses? il me les a constamment et obstinément refusés. Et ici, Mylord, je demande qu'il soit bien entendu que l'indignation et la douleur ne m'emportent pas au point, de ne pas distinguer en Lord Charles Somerset les égards privés dont il a cherché à adoucir ma captivité d'avec l'horreur de l'acte public par lequel il m'y a condamné; bien qu'il soit

demned me; although, indeed, towards the end of my stay, the warmth of my expressions, and the importunities of my complaints irritated him, without doubt, to such a degree, that in spite of my urgent entreaties, and my severe bodily sufferings, he detained me in the country, out of the reach of the daily visits of physicians and the medicines of the town.

At length, my Lord, after seven months captivity, and the arrival, no doubt, of your orders, it was signified to me that I might now provide myself with a vessel for my con-

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vrai que sur la fin de mon séjour la chaleur de mes expressions, l'importunité de mes réclamations sans doute l'ont aigri au point de me retenir en dépit de mes instances et d'incommodités graves dans la campagne, hors de la portée journalière des médecins et des remèdes de la ville.

Enfin, Mylord, après 7 mois de captivité et vos ordres sans doute arrivés, il m'a été signifié qu'il ne me restoit plus qu'à me pourvoir d'un bâtiment qui

veyance to England. In vain I solicited such a conveyance as was suitable to the distressed state of my health and that of my son. All the vessels of that description were refused me, either on one pretext or another; and I was reduced therefore in my choice to the only vessel which was ready to sail, and which was fixed on, moreover, by the Governor himself. I was obliged to take my passage in it a prisoner, and yet at my own expense, which by the way, seems somewhat irreconcileable; it was a brig of 230 tons, with a crew of 12

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pût me conduire en Angleterre. J'ai vainement sollicité une occasion qui pût convenir à la détresse de ma santé et de celle de mon fils. Les vaisseaux convenables m'ont été refusés par un motif ou par un autre; je me suis trouvé réduit dans le choix qui m'étoit laissé, au seul bâtiment qui se trouvoit en partance et indiqué d'ailleurs par S. E. le Gouverneur lui-même. J'ai dû m'y embarquer captif et pourtant à mes frais, ce qui pour le dire en passant semble peu conciliable; c'étoit un brick de 230 tonn. et de 12 hommes

men, in which, without any physician, and subject to all the inconveniences, to all the privations, and all the evils of so small a vessel, we were obliged to endure a passage of nearly 100 days.

This, my Lord, is the whole of my case connected with the Cape of Good Hope, and of which the proofs and details are to be found in my correspondence with Lord Charles Somerset, seized by your orders in the Thames, and at this very moment in your possession.

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d'équipage, sur lequel privé de médecin, soumis à tous les inconvénients, à toutes les privations, à tous les maux d'un aussi petit bâtiment, il nous a fallu endurer une traversée de près de 100 jours.

Voilà, Mylord, toute la partie de mon affaire qui concerne le Cap de Bonne Espérance, et dont la preuve et le développement se trouvent dans ma correspondance avec Lord Charles Somerset, saisie par vos ordres dans la Tamise, et en ce moment même en votre possession.

On reaching your shores, my Lord, I imagined all my sufferings were now at an end. I had had the honour of addressing, on my arrival at the Cape, a letter to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in which I claimed to be placed under his royal protection; I had written to you at the same time on the same subject. I did not doubt but that these letters had effected the order for my return; and already I enjoyed in anticipation a happiness which alleviated my sufferings. I was in the expectation of soon seeing again my friends in London, of hearing from them

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En atteignant vos rivages, Mylord, je croyois toucher enfin au terme de mes maux. J'avois eu l'honneur d'adresser en arrivant au Cap une lettre à Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent, pour me placer sous sa protection royale; je vous en avois écrit une en même tems pour le même sujet. Je ne doutois pas que ce ne fussent ces lettres qui avoient amené l'ordre de mon retour; déjà je me faisois un bonheur qui adoucissoit mes chagrins, de retrouver les amis que j'ai à Londres; d'y savoir si

if my wife and children were still in existence, of attending again to my private affairs which for more than three years had been neglected and were going to ruin. What was then my astonishment, when on entering the Thames, I was immediately taken apart, placed under close custody, with my papers sealed up! A few hours afterwards one of your messengers arrested me in the middle of the night, signified to me my removal to the Continent, and conducted me to Dover to carry it into execution. In the delay of three days which took place, his

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ma femme et mes enfants existoient; d'y reprendre mes intérêts domestiques depuis plus de 3 ans négligés ou détruits. Quel a été mon étonnement? En entrant dans la Tamise, j'y ai été aussitôt transféré à l'écart, mis au secret, et mes papiers scellés. Peu d'heures après un de vos messagers est venu se saisir de moi au milieu de la nuit, m'a signifié ma déportation sur le Continent, et m'a conduit à Douvre pour la mettre en exécution. S'étant présenté trois jours de retard, son zèle a su mettre ce

zeal contrived to turn the time to good account; he restored my papers to me, gave me the necessary materials for writing, encouraged me even as much as he could to write, and then at the very moment of my departure, after a most minute search, he seized every line of writing that he could lay his hands on. This is a species of trick, my Lord, which I can only attribute to the low disposition of the person by whom it was practised.

A circumstance of the same nature took place at St. Helena. Sir Hudson Lowe after keep-

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tems à profit; il a remis mes papiers à ma disposition, m'a fait donner tout ce qu'il me falloit pour écrire, m'y a encouragé de son mieux et a attendu le dernier instant du départ pour saisir après la fouille la plus minutieuse jusqu'à la dernière ligne d'écriture. C'est une sorte de piège, Mylord, que je n'ai garde d'attribuer autrement qu'à la bassesse de celui qui l'a pratiqué.

Une circonstance de même nature s'étoit présentée à St. Hélène. Sir H. Lowe après m'avoir

ing me five weeks in close custody, in which the means of writing were allowed me, wished to search my papers again at my departure; but it was sufficient for me to represent to his aid-de-camp, the singular light in which the facility which had been offered me of consigning to paper, ideas, which otherwise I should have kept to myself, would appear to the world; Sir Hudson Lowe instantly renounced the idea, and this is a piece of justice which I owe to that governor.

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gardé 5 semaines au secret, où il m'avoit permis tous les moyens d'écrire, voulut à mon départ fouiller de nouveau mes papiers; mais il me suffit alors de donner à entendre à son aide-de-camp l'étrange couleur que prendroit la facilité qui m'avoit été offerte de consigner sur le papier des idées qu'autrement j'aurois gardées en moi-même. Sir H. Lowe y renonça à l'instant; c'est une justice que je dois rendre à ce Gouverneur.

But the strangest part of all this, my Lord, and what will with difficulty be believed, remains to be told. Your messenger, notwithstanding all my efforts, packed up the whole of my papers, and separated me from them without drawing up an inventory of them, or observing any of the formalities prescribed by every jurisprudence in the world. Persuaded that this deviation from the first of principles proceeded from the ignorance of the subaltern, and not from the orders of the minister, I endeavoured for your sake, my Lord, to

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Ce qu'il y a de plus étrange ici, Mylord, et qu'on aura de la peine à croire, c'est que votre messager, bien que j'en aye fait, a emballé tous mes papiers et m'en a séparé sans vouloir en tracer d'inventaire, ni observer aucune des formalités que requièrent toutes les jurisprudences du monde. Persuadé que cette déviation du premier des principes provenoit de l'ignorance du subalterne, et non des ordres du ministre, j'ai cherché à y remédier dans vos intérêts, Mylord, en obtenant et m'empressant d'y

remedy the evil, by insisting for and obtaining leave to affix my seal to them, in order to enable you to correct in time the faults of your agent. I hope this measure is perfectly appreciated by your Lordship; it proceeded, as the nature of my papers will prove, solely from a wish to give you a specimen of my character, and a proof of my moderation. I had the honour of writing that moment to Lord Sidmouth, observing to him how necessary my presence was in an examination of papers, which a single word from me would

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apposer mon sceau ; afin de vous mettre à même de régulariser à tems les fautes de votre agent. Je désire que V. S. apprécie cette mesure, elle a été calculée, ainsi que vous le prouvera la nature de mes papiers, uniquement pour vous donner une nuance de mon caractère et une preuve de ma modération. J'ai eu l'honneur de l'écrire à l'instant même à Lord Sidmouth et de lui faire observer en même tems combien ma présence demeuroit nécessaire à l'examen de papiers qui par une seule

render extremely simple, but which in my absence might be unintelligible. Lord Sidmouth did not honour me with an answer.

Besides, my Lord, your agent laying aside that decency and generosity which are so characteristic of the individuals of your nation, executed his mission with more harshness than can be easily imagined. After first insulting me by the most vulgar abuse of the person whom I most venerate in this world, he next lavished on me all the opprobrious

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parole de moi deviennent fort simples, tandis que mon absence peut les laisser inexplicable. Lord Sidmouth ne m'a point honoré d'aucune réponse.

Mylord, votre agent du reste sortant de la décence et de la générosité qui caractérisent si bien les particuliers de votre nation, a accompagné sa mission de plus d'amertume qu'il ne seroit aisé de l'imaginer. Après m'avoir choqué une première fois par ses grossières injures sur la personne que je vénère le plus dans le monde, il a épuisé sur moi

expressions of his language, merely because I would not condescend to converse with him. He had received orders from you to secure me; but could he imagine that you wished to extend your power so far as to constrain me to become a companion for him? This man was accompanied by another person, against whom I have no complaint to make; although he bore a part in the insults offered to me, yet I could occasionally distinguish a certain moderation in his conduct, and he was besides excited and stimulated by the other.

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toutes les vilenies de la langue, et cela, parceque je ne me prêtois pas à converser avec lui. Il avoit reçu de vous l'ordre de me garder: mais a-t-il pu croire, que vous eussiez voulu étendre votre pouvoir jusqu'à me contraindre de faire société avec lui? Cet homme avoit un second, sur lequel ne s'étendent point mes plaintes; bien qu'il ait partagé les mêmes torts, j'ai su néanmoins lui distinguer par fois certaine retenue, et puis il a été excité, aiguillonné par le premier.

Your messenger, my Lord, in signifying to me the order for my removal in the middle of the night, left me no choice but Calais or Ostend. I had scarcely had time to recover my consciousness, when it was necessary for me to come to an instant decision. A few hours afterwards, when I was able to reflect on my situation, I asked if I could be permitted to go to America or any other part of the Continent? He answered in the negative, and added that he had already communicated my choice to the government; I insisted, but he declared he was certain that all my efforts

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Mylord, votre messager en me signifiant l'ordre de ma déportation au milieu de la nuit, ne m'a laissé de choix que Calais ou Ostende. A peine à moi-même il a fallu me décider sur le champ. Peu d'heures après rendu à la réflexion, j'ai demandé s'il ne me seroit pas permis d'aller en Amérique, ou sur quelqu'autre point du continent? il m'a été repondu que non, que d'ailleurs d'après mon choix il avoit déjà écrit au gouvernement; j'ai insisté, mais il m'a déclaré être sûr que tous mes efforts seroient

would be useless. Could his assertion, my Lord, possibly be true? I cannot believe it. Still however it was the means of fixing my destiny.

The order of the Prince Regent instantly to depart from Great Britain, was exhibited to my eyes, but withheld from my hands. Was this refusal a necessary form? Was it a precaution? Was there a responsibility attached to this royal act, or were they afraid that it would be to me a title of honour? In fact what else could it be, if specifying no ground

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inutiles. Son assertion pourroit-elle être vraie, Mylord? je ne saurois le croire, toutefois ma destinée a été arrêtée en conséquence.

On a montré à mes yeux et l'on a refusé à mes mains l'ordre de S. A. R. le Prince Régent de sortir à l'instant de la Grande Bretagne. Ce refus est-il une forme? est-il une précaution? cet acte royal entraîneroit-il une responsabilité ou a-t-on craint que je n'en fisse un titre d'honneur? et en effet que pourroit-il être autrement, si n'arguant aucun grief

of complaint it appeared to be directed only against a case of most rare occurrence, that of a servant sacrificing himself along with his master whom fortune had abandoned.

My Lord, in the limited choice to which your Lordship restricted me, I preferred Ostend to Calais, from pure motives of delicacy, originating in my tender veneration for my country. That it should be said an act of virtue drew down on me the persecution of my countrymen would have been painful to me

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il ne semble punir qu'un des plus rares dévouements, celui d'un serviteur s'immolant avec son maître qu'avoit abandonné la fortune.

Mylord, dans le choix rétréci que m'a fait parvenir V. Seigneurie j'ai donné la préférence à Ostende sur Calais, par de simples motifs de délicatesse puisés dans ma tendre vénération pour la patrie ; il m'en auroit trop coûté qu'on eût pu dire, que mes compatriotes m'auroient persécuté pour un acte de vertu ; et peut-être de leur part c'eût-il été au

in the extreme; though perhaps it would have been excusable at least on their part; but on yours, my Lord, my transportation from England was an act of mere caprice, a piece of harshness for which there can be no excuse.

However that may be, here I am on the Continent; and I have been thrown on it by your orders and contrary to my own inclination. And here, my Lord, let me be permitted to pause for a moment. I know all the circumstances of my life, and fortunately for me, there is not a corner of Europe to which I cannot carry a tranquil heart, a serene coun-

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moins excusable; de la vôtre, Mylord, ma déportation d'Angleterre n'a été qu'un vrai caprice, une dureté sans excuse.

Quoi qu'il en soit, me voilà sur le continent; j'y ai été jetté de votre fait et contre mon gré, et ici, Mylord, qu'il me soit permis de m'arrêter un instant. Je connois toutes les circonstances de ma vie, et fortunément il n'est pas de coin en Europe, où je ne puisse porter un cœur tranquille, un front

tenance, and a firm attitude. But you, my Lord, who have neither the time, nor the wish, nor facilities, to investigate my obscure career, if it had happened that from political dissentions, during which acts which give rise to prosecution are not always crimes, my person had been in danger; if I had perished, the world would have pronounced me a victim; but you, my Lord, who had exposed me to that danger, what name would have been given to you? Would you not have put it in the power of the world to say, " While it is

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serein, un pas assuré. Mais vous, Mylord, qui n'avez ni de loisir, ni le vouloir, ni les facilités de rechercher mon obscure carrière, si par hazard, les dissentions politiques durant lesquelles les actes poursuivis ne sont pas toujours des crimes, eussent mis ma personne en danger; si j'y eusse succombé, on m'eût dit une victime; mais vous, Mylord, qui m'auriez livré, quel nom n'eût pas été le vôtre? ne vous exposiez-vous pas à ce qu'on pût dire, " tandis que les loix Anglaises s'enorgueillissent

" the boast of the English laws that they have
" abolished the negro slave trade in the Ame-
" rican Islands, the English ministry carry
" on a trade in white flesh on the Continent
" of Europe ? "

Through the impulsion, my Lord, which your Lordship gave to my destiny, I was seized and conducted like a malefactor through the kingdom of the Netherlands ; my dying state procured for me no pity. I gave loud vent to my indignation. On this subject, shall I venture, my Lord, to transcribe truths for you of by no means an agreeable nature ? But

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" d'avoir aboli la traite des nègres aux isles d'Amé-
" rique, les ministres Anglais trafiquent de la chair
" blanche sur le Continent de l'Europe ? "

Mylord, par suite de l'impulsion que V. S. a imprimé à mes destinées, j'ai été saisi et conduit au travers du Royaume des Pays-Bas en malfaiteur et sans pitié bien que moribond. J'en ai jetté les hauts cris. Oserai-je à ce sujet, Mylord, vous transcrire des vérités peu agréables ? mais pourquoi

why not? It is the right of all your countrymen to speak the truth, without fear, to a minister of England; and to this right, a stranger whose sufferings have given him such just grounds of complaint, has surely a still stronger claim. When I exclaim against the shocking abuse of power which had been practised with regard to me, I was asked from what point of the globe I came, and what cause I had to be astonished? Some said to me: "Our King is good, do not blame him; he is "truly the instrument by which you are "struck. The tyrannical hand comes from

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pas? C'est le droit de tous vos compatriotes de faire entendre la vérité sans crainte à un ministre d'Angleterre; à plus forte raison ce doit être celui d'un étranger qui a de si justes motifs de plainte et de douleur. En bien quand je me suis récrié sur un si révoltant abus à mon égard, on m'a demandé de quel point du globe je venois, d'où pouvoit naître mon étonnement? Les uns m'ont dit: "Notre roi "est bon, ne vous en prenez pas à lui; il n'est que "l'instrument dont on vous frappe. La main ty-

" a greater distance." Others observed, " The " English people have long had factories in " India for their traffic; the English minis- " try now establish factories on the Continent " for their despotism. When their authority " terminates in England they continue it on the " Continent. They have placed their instru- " ments of torture and their executioners " among us. Neither their Inquisition nor " their punishment will you be able to escape." They would then give vent to all manner of invectives and imprecations against England

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" rannique vient de plus loin." D'autres ont dit : " Le peuple Anglais a depuis longtems des comp- " toirs aux Indes pour son traffic ; les ministres " Anglais en établissent aujourd'hui sur le Continent " pour leur despotisme. Quand leur autorité finit " en Angleterre, ils la continuent sur le Continent. " C'est chez nous qu'ils ont placé leurs instrumens " de torture et leurs exécuteurs. Vous n'échappe- " rez point à leur inquisition ni à ses supplices." Et alors les diatribes, les imprécations de pleuvoir

and the English people. Undoubtedly, my Lord, prudent and intelligent persons, not under the influence of passion, are far from falling into this mistake, and know very well the party to which the blame ought exclusively to be attached; they can distinguish very well between the excellence of the laws and their violation, and the abuse of power; they know that true Englishmen combat and detest every kind of tyranny both at home and abroad; that they are in their own island the most ardent defenders, the most zealous guardians of the grand and sublime truths which on our

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sur l'Angleterre et les Anglais. Sans doute, Mylord, les gens sages, instruits et sans passion, sont loin de s'y tromper, et savent à qui s'en prendre exclusivement; ils distinguent fort bien l'excellence des loix, d'avec leur violation et les abus du pouvoir; ils savent que les vrais Anglais combattent et détestent toute espèce de tyrannie chez eux et au loin; qu'ils sont dans leur isle les défenseurs les plus ardents, les gardiens les plus zélés des grandes et belles vérités qui sur notre Continent sont l'objet de nos es-

Continent are the objects of our hopes and our wishes. But the bulk of the people do not examine matters so closely; they find it easier to accuse a nation *en masse* and to load a whole people with their maledictions.'

'But after all, my Lord, what is my crime, and what can be the motive of so cruel a persecution? I have a right to demand an answer from you, and the countries where this persecution was prolonged through your impulsion, join me in making this demand. Everywhere the authorities who concurred in enforcing the

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pérances et de nos vœux. Mais le gros du vulgaire n'y regarde pas de si près; il trouve plus court de s'en prendre à une nation en masse et de la maudire toute entière.

Mais enfin, Mylord, après tout quel est mon crime, quel peut être le motif d'une si cruelle persécution? J'ose vous le demander, et les pays où elle s'est prolongée par votre impulsion, vous le demandent avec moi. Partout les autorités qui ont

measures against my person, carefully avoided me; they would have been embarrassed with my rights and they could have assigned no motives for their acts; they were even themselves ignorant of the source and the cause of them. From the Cape of Good Hope to the place where I now am, whenever I demanded what judgment, what sentence, what charge existed against me? I was always answered that it was by an order every thing was done. But when I requested to know the grounds, I was uniformly answered by silence.

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agi sur ma personne m'ont évité avec soin; elles eussent été embarrassées de mes droits et n'eussent pu motiver leurs actes; elles en ignorent elles-mêmes la source et la cause; depuis le Cap de Bonne-Espérance jusqu'au lieu où je me trouve, si je demande quel jugement, quelle sentence, quelle charge existe contre moi, on ne me répond que par un ordre. Si je sollicite un motif je n'obtiens que le silence.

I had the honour, my Lord, in a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, to ask you, and I now repeat the question: what reasonable objection could possibly be urged to the wish which I entertained of remaining on your soil and amongst you? Were you afraid of my speaking or writing on political subjects? But with what inconvenience could this be attended on your island? Were you afraid of the importunity of my complaints against your administration? But is there a point on the Continent where I could

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Mylord, j'ai eu l'honneur de vous l'écrire du Cap et j'ose vous le répéter ici. Quelle objection raisonnable s'opposoit aux vœux que je formois de demeurer sur votre sol et auprès de vous? Craignoit-on que je ne parlasse, n'écrivisse sur des sujets politiques? Mais quel inconvénient pouvoient-ils avoir sur votre isle? Craignoit-on que je ne fisse entendre des plaintes importunes sur votre administration? Mais est-il un point sur le Continent où l'on inter-

not give vent to my complaints, and where I should not find the minds of men disposed to receive them? Your vicinity, my Lord, your territory alone, was it not the very place where you would have had the most power and authority over me? Should my conduct have been culpable, had you not your general laws? Should it have been disagreeable, had you not your particular laws, and especially the alien bill? And what is more than all this, you had for guarantee of my reserve and my moderation, my desire of remaining among you. This desire was ardent in the extreme, my Lord,

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dise mes cris, et où je ne trouve les esprits disposés à m'entendre? Votre voisinage, Mylord, votre seul territoire, n'étoit-il pas celui où vous aviez sur moi le plus d'action et d'autorité? Si je me rendois coupable, n'avez-vous pas vos loix générales? Si je me rendois désagréable, n'avez-vous pas vos loix particulières, et surtout le *bill des étrangers?* Enfin plus que tout cela, vous aviez pour garantie de ma réserve et de ma modération mon désir de demeurer auprès de vous; et ce désir étoit extrême, Mylord,

and I will tell you why. My residence in England would have fulfilled the destiny of the rest of my life, the wish to consecrate myself for ever (within the limits of your regulations, and by the legal means which you have allowed) to the procuring alleviation and consolation to him for whom I weep. I will do you, my Lord, as well as your colleagues, the justice to suppose you possessed of sufficient elevation to fulfil in this respect a political duty only, and to be strangers to every thing like personal animosity. When you

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et je vais vous en dire la cause. Mon séjour en Angleterre accomplissoit les vœux, le destin du reste de ma vie, celui de me consacrer à jamais (en dedans de vos règlements, et par les voies légales que vous avez admises) à procurer des adoucissements et des consolations à celui que je pleure. Je vous suppose assez d'élévation, Mylord, ainsi qu'à vos collègues, pour ne remplir en cette circonstance qu'un devoir politique et demeurer étranger à toute animosité personnelle. Quand vous avez pourvu à la sûreté

have secured the person of the captive, you cannot envy him those indulgences by which you will be burdened. You will rather facilitate than obstruct any endeavours to procure him consolations of this nature. Now I implore from you this religious employment; my heart is set on fulfilling it, and I will fulfil it with sincerity; I should have convinced you of this, my Lord, if I had been allowed to approach you; I do not yet despair of it; I renew my solicitation, and always.....

I own also, my Lord, that I had always re-

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du captif, vous ne sauriez lui envier des indulgences qui ne vous seront point à charge. Vous le faciliterez plutôt, or j'implore de vous cet emploi religieux, mon cœur a le besoin de le remplir, je le ferai avec loyauté; je vous en eusse convaincu, Mylord, si j'avois pu parvenir jusqu'à vous, et je n'en désespère point encore, je sollicite de nouveau et toujours....

J'avois compté aussi, Mylord, je l'avoue, comme

lied, as a chance of admission to you, on the desire of your Lordship to seize this singular occasion of confirming yourself in the knowledge of the truth; I thought that your post and your character rendered this an imperative duty. In pronouncing on the complaints from St. Helena what contradictory information has enabled you to discharge your noble functions of a jury? I should have answered all your questions with candour and without passion; I should have convinced you without noise, if such had been your desire,

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une chance de mon admission auprès de vous, le désir de votre Seigneurie de saisir cette occasion singulière de vous affermir dans la connoissance de la vérité, je pensois que votre poste et votre caractère vous en faisoit une loi. En prononçant sur les plaintes de St. Hélène quelles lumières contradictoires ont éclairé vos nobles fonctions de jury? J'eusse repondu à toutes vos questions, avec candeur, sans passion; je vous eusse convaincu sans bruit, si vous en aviez eu le désir, de toutes les er-

of all the errors in which the multiplicity and the importance of your affairs allow you to remain with respect to us. I have read in three different papers (*Times*, *New Times*, and *London Chronicle*) your answer to Lord Holland on his motion respecting St. Helena, and I can assure you that almost every line of it is incorrect. God forbid! my Lord, that I should attribute insincerity to you. But your subordinate officers have misinformed you. Your Lordship affirmed that none of the relations of the Emperor Napoleon, excepting

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reurs dans lesquelles la multiplicité et l'importance de vos affaires vous laissent sur ce qui nous concerne. J'ai lu dans trois papiers différents (les Times, New-Times et London Chronicle) votre réponse à Lord Holland sur sa motion de St. Hélène, et je puis vous assurer que presque chaque ligne est une irrégularité. A Dieu ne plaise, Mylord, que je ne vous croye dans la bonne foi. Mais vos bureaux vous ont mal instruit. V. S. a affirmé qu'aucun des parents de l'Empereur Napoléon, excepté son frère

his brother Joseph had written to him. And yet I myself have given him three or four letters transmitted by you to him though the medium of Sir Hudson Lowe, namely, from his mother, from the Princess Borghese and his brother Lucien. The fact is of little importance in itself, my Lord; but this material inaccuracy ought to excite your doubts as to other points and to give weight to my assertions as to the rest of the transactions. With regard to what concerns me, for instance, it is so disfigured, that whatever prejudices I

Joseph, ne lui avoit écrit. Car je lui ai remis moi-même 3 ou 4 lettres venues de vous par le canal de Sir. H. Lowe; savoir de Mr. Mère, Madame la princesse Borghèse et son frère Lucien. Le fait est peu important en lui-même, Mylord; mais cette inexactitude matérielle doit exciter vos doutes sur d'autres points, et donner du poids à mes assertions sur le reste. Ce qui me concerne par exemple est tellement défiguré, que, quelque préjugé que j'aie

may have had reason to entertain against Sir H. Lowe, I do not hesitate to think that he will himself complain of the incorrectness of the exposition. Besides, my Lord, in the heat of party and of every kind of opposition, the truth naturally appears under two aspects. Mine cannot be precisely the same as yours. The public know this, and hence they would have wished to form their opinion from official papers. You thought it your duty however to refuse them. Have you not thereby, my Lord, fixed their opinion?

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lieu d'entretenir contre Sir H. Lowe, je n'hésite pas à penser qu'il se récriera sans doute lui-même sur l'irrégularité de l'exposition. Du reste, Mylord, dans la chaleur des partis, et de toute opposition, il se forme inévitablement deux vérités. La mienne ne sauroit être précisément la vôtre. Le public le sait, aussi c'est sur les pièces officielles qu'il auroit aimé à établir la sienne. Vous avez cru devoir les refuser. Mylord, n'aurez-vous pas fixé son opinion?

After these long details, I shall briefly, my Lord, recapitulate the reasons for which I now address you.

1. I demand justice and redress for the abuse of authority, the arbitrary and tyrannical act by which Lord Charles Somerset so long deprived me of my liberty, in violation of the positive laws of his country.

2. I demand justice and redress for the irregularity with which all my papers were seized in the Thames; the persons who took posses-

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Myford, je me résume après de si longs détails:

1. Je demande justice et redressement de l'abus d'autorité, de l'acte arbitraire tyrannique par lequel Lord Charles Somerset m'a privé si long-tems de ma liberté, en violation des loix positives de son pays.

2. Je demande justice et redressement des formes irrégulières avec lesquelles on a saisi tous mes papiers dans la Tamise, on m'en a séparé sans vou-

sion of them having refused to draw up any inventory of them notwithstanding all my intreaties.

3. I demand justice and redress for having been, in contempt of every principle, delivered over as a prisoner to the Continent; and afterwards, in consequence of the impulsion or instructions given with regard to me, constrained to pass through Belgium and the adjacent countries as a malefactor.

4. I demand the inspection and prompt restitution of the papers taken from me on the

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loir en dépit de toutes mes instances en tracer d'inventaire.

3. Je demande justice et redressement d'avoir au mépris de tous les principes été livré captif sur le Continent, et ensuite de l'impulsion ou des instructions données, été contraint de traverser la Belgique et les pays adjacents en malfaiteur.

4. Je demande la visite et la restitution prompte des papiers qui m'ont été saisis dans la Tamise. La

Thames. The most of them had been inspected by Sir Hudson Lowe, and others of them are absolutely necessary to me in the daily management of my domestic affairs; they contain all the titles of my property and fortune, and without them I am left entirely destitute.*

*These papers have since been restored, it is true, but after an interval of four months. The ministry even wrote that they had sent them off immediately and without opening them; they have thereby fully disavowed their agent, but does this in any respect extinguish the right to redress for a privation of four months, and to demand that a violation so monstrous as that of the subaltern should be punished? The Count never pretended that his papers should not be examined; it was their forms and their tyranny alone, against which he protested.

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plupart avoient été respectés par Sir H. Lowe, et d'autres me deviennent absolument nécessaires dans l'usage journalier de mes circonstances domestiques; ils contiennent tous mes titres de propriété et de fortune, sans eux je demeure privé de tout.*

* Ces papiers ont été restitués depuis, il est vrai, mais au bout de 4 mois. Les ministres ont même fait écrire qu'ils les avoient renvoyés immédiatement et sans les ouvrir; ils ont pleinement désavoué par là sans doute leur agent, mais en est-on moins fondé à poursuivre une privation de 4 mois et le châtiment d'une violation aussi monstrueuse que celle du subalterne? Le Comte n'a jamais prétendu se refuser à l'examen de ses papiers, il ne s'est élevé que contre les formes et leurs tyrannies.—

5. I demand the restitution of my St. Helena papers, the inventory of which, certified and signed by Sir Hudson Lowe, is among the papers seized in the Thames. The papers of St. Helena are reduced nearly to a single manuscript embracing the space of eighteen months, in which day by day, are inscribed, though still in an incomplete and disorderly state, the conversations, the words, the gestures perhaps of him who long guided the destinies of Europe.

This manuscript was in its nature sacred, and

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5. Je demande la restitution de mes papiers de St. Hélène dont l'inventaire, reconnu et signé par Sir H. Lowe, se trouve parmi les papiers saisis sur la Tamise. Les papiers de St. Hélène se réduisent à peu près à un seul manuscrit, renfermant l'espace de 18 mois, où jour pour jour se trouvent inscrits, encore en désordre et sans être arrêtés, les conversations, les paroles, les gestes peut-être, de celui qui longtems guida les destinées de l'Europe.

Ce manuscrit sacré par sa nature et son objet étoit

its object was unknown to all, and ought to remain so; I allowed Sir Hudson Lowe to obtain a sufficient knowledge of it to be convinced of its inoffensive nature. On arriving at the Cape I had the honour to write to the Prince Regent through the channel of ministers, as well as to themselves, in order to place these precious materials under their special protection; I made this demand in the name of justice, in the name of history. They are, in the eyes of all laws, my sacred property, and that of my children, and of posterity.

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inconnu à tous et devoit le demeurer; j'en ai laissé prendre connoissance à Sir H. Lowe suffisamment pour le convaincre de son inoffensive nature. En arrivant au Cap j'ai eu l'honneur d'écrire au Prince Régent par le canal des ministres aussi bien qu'à eux-mêmes pour mettre ces matériaux précieux sous leur protection spéciale : je le leur demandois au nom de la justice ; au nom de l'histoire. Ils sont aux yeux de toutes les loix ma propriété sacrée, celle de mes enfants, celle de l'avenir.

6. Lastly, and above all, I demand the restitution of the letter which the Emperor Napoleon did me the honour to address to me, when in close custody in the island of St. Helena. A letter with which politics have no concern, read by the Governor of St. Helena, read by ministers even, (or which might have been read by them if they had chosen) could by no code in the world, however severe the confidential expressions in this letter may be in other respects, be withdrawn from him whose property it has become. This precious object is

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6. Enfin et sur toute chose je demande la restitution de la lettre que l'Empereur Napoléon m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser dans ma prison au secret dans l'isle de St. Hélène. Une lettre étrangère à la politique, lue par le Gouverneur de St. Hélène, lue par les ministres mêmes s'ils l'ont voulu, ne saurait dans aucun code du monde, quelque sévères d'ailleurs qu'en pussent être ses expressions confidentielles être enlevée à celui dont elle est devenue la propriété. Cet objet précieux et sacré est la récompense de

sacred, is the recompence of my life, the title of my children, the monument of my family.

To you, my Lord, by nature and reflection the friend of propriety and moderation, I first address the enumeration of my grievances. It is from you alone, that without noise I demand redress. If your Lordship thinks it your duty to abstain from answering me, I shall then be under the necessity of addressing my complaints to your tribunals of justice; after them, the tribunal of public opinion is still

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vie, le titre de mes enfants, le monument de ma famille.

Mylord, ami naturel et réfléchi de toute convenance et de toute modération, c'est à vous que j'adresse d'abord l'énumération de mes griefs. C'est à vous seul à qui j'en demande sans bruit le redressement. Si V. S. croyoit ne devoir pas y répondre, c'est à vos tribunaux de justice alors auxquels je me trouverois dans l'obligation d'adresser mes plaintes; après eux viendra encore le tribunal de l'opinion

open; and what is still more than all, there is a supreme tribunal on high, which looking down on both the victim and the tyrant, accomplishes in eternity, the infallible triumph of all rights, and the final chastisement of all injustice.

I have the honour to b

My Lord,

With high consideration, &c.

(Signed) THE COUNT DE LAS CASAS.

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publique, et ensuite, par-dessus tout encore ce tribunal suprême d'en-haut qui planant également sur la victime et les tyrannies accomplit dans l'éternité le triomphe infaillible de tous les droits, et le châtiment final de toutes les injustices.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Mylord, avec une haute considération, etc.

(Signé) Le Comte de Las Casas.

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